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THE
A R G U M E N T
— OF THE —
D I V I N E L E G A T I O N

FAIRLY STATED,
And returned to the *DEISTS*,
to whom it was originally addressed.

In which is shewn,
That the ANSWERS hitherto given to it
are such as neither BELIEVERS nor UNBE-
LIEVERS can make Use of,

Being irreconcilable
With the general Principles of Both.
By an Impartial Hand.

To which is added,
An A P P E N D I X,

C O N T A I N I N G
Letters which passed between the late Dr. *Middleton* and
Mr. *Warburton*, on the Characters of MOSES and
CICERO.

Now first published from their respective Originals.

L O N D O N:

Printed for C. DAVIS over-against *Gray's-Inn Gate*, in
Holbourn, 1751.

22

THE
 ARGUMENT
 OF THE
 DIVINE LEGATION

FAIRLY STATED,
 And returned to the DEISTS,
 to whom it was originally addressed.

That the Author
 has such as are
 not Unre-



With the general Principles of both.
 By an impartial Hand.

To which is added
 AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING
 Letters which passed between the late Dr. Whiston and
 Mr. Wotton, on the Characters of Moses and
 Cicerō.
 Now first published from their respective Originals.

L O N D O N:
 Printed for C. DAVIES over against Gray's Inn, in
 Holborn, 1721.

iv The PREFACE

P R E F A C E.

GOD's extraordinary Providence over the Jews, or the Reality of those MIRACLES recorded in the Old Testament, being the great TRUTH which the Author of the Divine Legation proposed to make manifest, He has endeavoured to support it by two distinct and independent Arguments.

The one taken from the Jewish Religion and Society's HAVING no future State for their Support:

The other from Moses's OMITTING a future State in the Institution of this Religion and Society.

These the Reader sees are addressed to UNBELIEVERS.

Yet several Believing Writers, from an Apprehension of Danger (as we must in Charity suppose) to Revelation from the Use of these Media, have undertaken to answer his Arguments.

iv The P R E F A C E.

But, to answer them, on such Principles as a *Deist* cannot admit, would be the highest *Absurdity*: And, to answer them on such as a *Christian* cannot make Use of, without laying himself open in another Quarter, and in a vital Part, to the Attacks of Infidelity, would be as high an *Indiscretion*.

And yet the Adversaries of the *Divine Legation* have done both one and the other.

To make this appear, I have brought the two Arguments to the Test; I have enquired into their Truth, and tried the Force of the Objections to them: And this makes the Subject of the following Sheets.

I have begun with the *second* Argument; and endeavoured to shew its Weight, and to point to its proper Direction. I have considered the several Objections that have been urged against it, and shewn that *some* of them, (such as that *the Jews had a future State delivered to them in the Patriarchal Religion*) take the Thing in question [*viz.* the Truth of Revelation] for granted; and are consequently Solutions which the *Deist* will not accept of: And that *others*, (such as that *Moses was not commissioned to teach a future State, as being a Minister only of the temporal Covenant,*) have no other Tendency than to confirm the Truth of the whole System of the
Divine

The P R E F A C E. v

Divine Legation. So that the utmost the Objections effect, were all they say true, (which my following Observations on the *first* Argument shew to be utterly false) is, that the *second* Argument is only an Argument *ad hominem*; which yet these Objectors must confess is urged so home that the Deists can never disengage themselves from it till they become Believers, and then Mr. W. has done with them.

The Discourse now proceeds to the Consideration of the *first* Argument, and amongst other Things of no small Importance, endeavours to shew, that the Adversaries of the *Divine Legation* make such Answers to it as will involve them in inextricable Difficulties, or lay Revelation at the Mercy of Unbelievers. As when they suppose, the Law omitted a future State, either because *Moses* had no Commission to teach it, or the People were in no Condition to learn it; and yet, at the same Time, contend that the Patriarchs (who certainly had no more Commission than *Moses*) preached it openly; and that this very People who were not in a Condition to have it taught them by *Moses*, were qualified to receive it in a traditional Doctrine from these Patriarchs; and what was stranger still, that this very *Moses* was permitted to reveal it openly,

vi The P R E F A C E.

penly, and in the Fulness of Christian Knowledge, in the Book of *Job*, (of which they suppose him the Author) tho' in the LAW he was constrained to hide and involve it in Types and Figures.

But the Folly of false Reasoning rarely ends in a simple Absurdity. It commonly goes further, as in the present Case, where it unavoidably tends to disable the Advocate of Religion from rendering to a Deist any reasonable Account of the Use of SECONDARY PROPHECIES in the Old Testament: A Matter of the utmost Consequence; as the Proof of the Dependencies and Connexions between the *two Dispensations*, is founded on the REASONABLE Use of *secondary Prophecies*. For if the *Jewish* People were taught, and had retained the Doctrine of *Life and Immortality* from the Patriarchs, it was absurd in *Moses* and the Prophets to endeavour (as they have done) to hide it from them by obscure Types and Figures: Types and Figures then, of which *secondary Prophecies* are a *Mode*, were useless; and so become liable to all the Dishonour Mr. *Collins* has cast upon them.

But as in the Variety of Answers to the *Divine Legation* there is scarce any Thing which has passed uncaviled; not only the Omission of a future State in the LAW, is denied,

The P R E F A C E vii

nied, but likewise that the *Jewish* Affairs were administered under a Theocracy by an *extraordinary Providence* extending itself to *Particulars*: It is therefore shewn occasionally, 1. that the Doctrine of the *Omission* of a future State in the *Mosaic* Religion hath been held by the greatest Divines and Scholars of these later Ages, and is far from being the Peculiar of the Author of the *Divine Legation*. 2. That an *extraordinary Providence to Particulars* is the plain, express, and unvariable Doctrine of the *Law and the Prophets*.

And here let me repeat what I have more than once declared in the following Sheets. That no Partiality to the *Argument of the Divine Legation*, or to the Person of the Author, hath set me upon this Enquiry, but the Love of Truth only. All my Aim is to get at it: And whether I be conducted thither by the Author of the *Divine Legation*, or by any of his Adversaries, is a Matter of the utmost Indifference to me.

I said *any*; For by *all*, or indeed by any Number of them, is impossible; so various are their Schemes, so discordant and inconsistent. A Conduct little suiting the Character of *Orthodoxy*; and making less for its Credit, when it addresses itself to oppose *new Opinions*.

To

viii The P R E F A C E.

To conclude, all I would ask the Reader for my Pains, is only this, that he would be pleased, first to read the Text, and not divert his Eye upon the Notes till he has gone through it. If he then turns to the Notes they will enable him the better to see the Force of the whole.



I said and For by all or indeed by any Number of them is impossible; to various are their Schemes, to different and inconsistent. **THE** Author has endeavoured to give the Character of Orthodoxy; and making less for its Credit, when it affects itself to oppose new Opinions.

THE
 ARGUMENT
 OF THE
 DIVINE LEGATION
 FAIRLY STATED, &c.

THE great TRUTH which the Author of the *Div. Leg.* undertakes to prove, is, that AN EXTRAORDINARY PROVIDENCE WAS ACTUALLY ADMINISTERED IN THE MORE EARLY AGES OF THE JEWISH DISPENSATION. Or in other Words, that the MIRACLES recorded in the *Old Testament* were really performed.

In order to establish and support his Point, he has offered two *separate* and *distinct* Proofs, contained in the following Syllogisms:

“ I. Whatsoever Religion and Society have no
 “ future State for their Support, must be supported
 “ by an extraordinary Providence.

“ The *Jewish* Religion and Society had no future State for their Support.

“ Therefore the *Jewish* Religion and Society were supported by an extraordinary Providence.

“ Again. II. It was universally believed by the
 “ Antients, on their common Principles of Legislation and Wisdom, that whatsoever Religion
 “ and Society have no future State for their Sup-

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“ port,

“ port, must be supported by an extraordinary Providence.

“ *Moses*, skilled in all that Legislation and Wisdom, instituted the *Jewish* Religion and Society, without a future State for its Support.

“ Therefore *Moses* who taught, believed likewise, that *this* Religion and Society were to be supported by an extraordinary Providence.” *Warburton's* Remarks, Part. I. p. 78.

In the *first* Syllogism he attempts to prove an extraordinary Providence from the Circumstances and Situation of the *Jewish* People, from their being tied down to a Religion which had not the Doctrine of a future State. He observes that *such a Religion* was destitute of a Principle necessary to support it under the Dispensation of a common and ordinary Providence. Hence he infers, that it could not have subsisted so long, had not an extraordinary Providence intervened to supply that Defect.

In his *second* Syllogism he proceeds on a very *different* and *distinct* Principle, and makes Use of a very *different* and *distinct* Medium, to prove the Reality of an extraordinary Providence. For he argues only from the *Views*, *Principles*, and *Character* of the *Jewish* Leader; and insists that no Person, circumstanced like *Moses*, and so well skilled both in the Political and Religious Notions of the Antients, as he is confessed to have been, would have established a national Religion which had not the Doctrine of a future State, unless he had been previously assured, that this Defect would be supplied by the Interposition of an extraordinary Providence.*

In

* When Mr. *W.* asserts the Administration of an extraordinary Providence, he means such a Providence as extends itself

In the Prosecution of the *first* of these Arguments, Mr. *W.* and his Advocates are obliged to prove, that the *Jews* had no Knowledge of another Life. In the Prosecution of the *second* they need not go so far, or trouble themselves to produce any positive and direct proofs that this People was not in Possession of this Doctrine. All they have to do, is merely to shew that *Moses* made no Provision for it, or did not

self to Particulars and Individuals, rewarding the Righteous and punishing the Wicked in the present Life. But then he does not suppose it to have been exercised in so regular, and uniform a manner, that every Observer of the Law, without exception, met with his Reward, and no single Transgressor escaped Punishment in this World. All he holds is, that there were constant Interpositions, and he affirms, they were so frequent and numerous, as to be sufficient to preserve and keep alive the notion of the one true God; which he supposes to have been the immediate End and Design of the *Mosaic Dispensation*.

The notion of an extraordinary Providence, as stated and explained by Mr. *War.* seems to be much the same as that asserted by Dr. *Clarke*, in his Sermon on *Proverbs* ix. 10, 11, in which he speaks of "God, under the Old Testament, usually preserving the Righteous by a singular Care and Protection (so that *Job's* Friends could appeal to experience, whoever perished being innocent, or when were the righteous cut off?) And on the contrary, the same Providence generally cutting off the Wicked by extraordinary Judgments in the present Life, even of those who prospered longest, so that it was hard for the Psalmist to understand it, and reconcile it with Providence, lxxiii. 16. Yet even of these, he observed upon better Consideration, Surely thou didst set them in slippery Places, thou castedst them down into Destruction, how are they brought into Desolation, as in a moment they are utterly consumed with Terrors, lxxiii. 18, 19. But most frequently evil Doers were cut off sooner, and destroyed suddenly in the midst of their Career. Hast thou marked the old way which wicked Men have trodden; which were cut down out of Time; whose Foundation was overflown with a Flood? Job xxii. 15, 16.—Bloody and deceitful Men shall not live out half their Days." vol. 2. p. 157, 8. "And the Psalmist, as being sensible what the usual effect of Wickedness was, prays thus,

not enter it into the Body of his religious Institutes. For they contend that this bare Omission is a clear and full Proof, that *Moses* believed he should be supported in an extraordinary manner.

In managing and conducting the *first* Argument, they call upon the *Deists*, to shew, how Religion could

“ Psalm cii. 24. O my God, take me not away in the midst
“ of my Days. Indeed in the whole Book of *Psalms*, the
“ Wicked are perpetually threatened with being cut off before
“ their Time.”

I have not cited this Passage in order to prove that Things were really administer'd and dispensed in this manner under the Law, but only to shew that Dr. *Clarke* did sometimes carry this notion of an extraordinary Providence as far as the Author of the *D. L.* What the Dr. affirms is, that good Men were generally rewarded, and the Wicked usually punished in the present Life. And surely no candid and impartial Reader will charge the Author of the *D. L.* with saying more than this.

He has stated and limited his Notion of an extraordinary Providence with so many Restrictions and Exceptions, as plainly and evidently shew, that he all along supposed it to be attended with some Inequalities; i. e. that there might be found Instances where Observers of the Law missed their Reward, and Transgressors escaped Punishment in this Life.

For he takes Notice “ that *Posterity* were punished for the
“ Crimes of their Fore-fathers, and *Subjects* for those of
“ their Kings.

“ When the Laws were remissly or corruptly administered,
“ good and ill would sometimes happen unequally to Men.
“ For the extraordinary Providence did not begin to be exerted
“ in these particular Cases, till the civil Laws of the Republic had failed of their Efficacy.

“ In this extraordinary Administration, one part of the
“ Wicked was sometimes suffered as a Scourge to the other.

“ The extraordinary Providence to the State might sometimes clash with that to Particulars, as in the Plague for
“ numbring the People.

“ Sometimes the extraordinary Providence was suspended
“ for a Season.

“ It was gradually withdrawn.—Under the *Judges* it was
“ perfectly equal. And during that period we hear of no
“ Complaints at all. When the People had rebelliously de-
“ manded

could be able to subsist among the *Israelites*, while they had no Expectation of a future State. In managing and conducting the *second* Argument, they call upon them again, to shew, why *Moses* made no Provision for this Doctrine, by inserting it into the Body of his religious Institutes. If the *Deists* can account for this Circumstance, consistently

mandated a King, there was, as was fitting, a great Abatement in the vigour of this extraordinary Providence. From hence to the Time of the Captivity the extraordinary Providence kept gradually decaying." *D. L.* vol. 2. p. 444, 5.

These are plain and positive Declarations, that this extraordinary Providence was not supposed to descend to every Particular and Individual without Exception. The several Limitations and Restrictions here given evidently shew, that our Author could mean nothing more, than that good Men were generally rewarded and the Wicked usually punished, in the present Life, according to the Representation of Dr. Clarke in the passage above quoted.

If there occur any loose and ambiguous Expressions, which seem to carry this Notion farther, it is but reasonable to interpret and restrain them according to the several Limitations and Exceptions here given, and given for that very purpose. But if the Reader would see this Point discuss'd at large, I must refer him to Mr. W.'s Reply to Dr. Sykes's Remarks, Part 2. Section 9.

It were greatly to be wished that some of the Writers against the *D. L.* had attended to these Distinctions and Exceptions, since this might probably have prevented one part of the late Controversy.

It is usual with them to alledge, that good Men amongst the *Jews* were sometimes involved in the public and national Calamities. But why this to the Author of the *D. L.*? Does not he himself say that the extraordinary Providence to the State would sometimes clash with that to Particulars? The Circumstance objected makes nothing against the notion of an extraordinary Providence, as it has been stated and limited by him.

Dr. Sykes insists much on the following Words. — "Righteous art thou, O Lord, when I plead with thee, yet let me talk with thee of thy Judgments; wherefore doth the way of the Wicked prosper? Wherefore are all they happy that deal

sistently with their own Principles, that is, without supposing the divine Mission of *Moses*, it must be owned,

"deal very treacherously? Thou hast planted them, yea, they
"have taken Root, they grow, yea, they bring forth Fruit;
"thou art near in their Mouth, and far from their Reins."
Jerem. xii. 1, 2,

All one can collect from this Passage, is, that wicked Men were sometimes suffer'd to prosper and flourish in the time of this Prophet. Now this surely is very consistent with the Doctrine of the *D. L.* which tells us that the extraordinary Providence kept gradually decaying from the Age of *Saul*, and was greatly abated in its Influence and Vigour in the Days of *Jeremiah*.

But here, let me ask, whence comes it that a grave, serious, and inspired Writer was so embarrassed and perplexed with this Circumstance, as to be utterly unable to account for the Prosperity of the Wicked in the present Life? I shall be greatly obliged to the Dr. for a plain and direct answer to this Question.

He appeals to Psalm lxxiii. which in the first part speaks much of the Prosperity of the Wicked. But here the Dr. forgot to transcribe the following Verses. "When I thought to know this, it was too painful for me. Until I went into the Sanctuary of God; then understood I their end. Surely thou didst set them in slippery Places: Thou castedst them down into Destruction. How are they brought into desolation, as in a moment they are utterly consumed with Terrors." lxxvi. 17, 18, 19.

Dr. *Clarke* quotes these very words as a Proof that the Wicked were generally punished in this Life. Ser. vol. p.2. 158.

All we learn from this Psalm, is, that the Prosperity of the Wicked was short and transitory, or that they would soon be cut off notwithstanding their present Triumph and Success.

It plainly appears from the Verses just quoted, as well as from the concluding part of this Psalm, that a real Difference and Distinction would be made between the Righteous and the Wicked in the present Life.

And how does this Assertion of the Psalmist interfere with the Doctrine of the *D. L.*?

Here again let the Dr. tell us, whence comes it, that even an inspired Writer under the Law, found it so painful and difficult to account for the Prosperity of the Wicked? And when

owned, that this *second* Argument has no real Force or Validity. This, then, is the ARGUMENT I propose to examine and review. Which will

when he attempts to explain it, why he confines his Reasoning to *this present Life*, and points out no Punishment that was to attend the Wicked, but such as was purely temporal?

“ The Believers under the Law, says the excellent Bishop *Smalridge*, were persuaded, that all Things were order’d and govern’d by an all-wise and all-powerful Being; and yet the most enlighten’d of them were at a loss to account for the Justice of divine Providence in suffering the Wicked to prosper, and the Righteous to be afflicted: But every common Christian is able to solve this Difficulty by the help of what he hath learn’d from the Gospel, concerning the Retributions of a future State.” Sermons, p. 312, 313.

Will the Dr. then be pleased to inform us, why the most enlighten’d Jews were not as able to solve the present Difficulty, as every common Christian?


The Dr. lays great Stress on the following Words. “ I have seen the Wicked in great Power; and spreading himself like a green Bay Tree.” And yet the following Verses might have shewn him that his Observation was nothing to his Purpose. “ Yet he passed away, and so he was not; yea I sought him, but he could not be found. Mark the perfect Man, and behold the upright: For the end of that Man is Peace. But the Transgressors shall be destroyed together, the end of the Wicked shall be cut off.” Psal. xxxvii. 35, 6, 7, 8. All then we can infer from hence, is, that the prosperity of the Wicked was short and transient. — Or that Transgressors were soon to be destroyed and cut off, while the end of the perfect Man was Peace.

The visible Purport and Design of the whole Psalm is to shew, that God often interposed to preserve and protect the Virtuous. (v. 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 11, 19, 17, 22, 24, 25, 28, 29, 33.) And to punish and destroy the Wicked, 1, 2, 9, 10, 14, 15, 20, 22, 36, 38. — And what does the Author of the D. L. say more than this?

The Dr. lays great Weight too on Psalm xliv. “ But thou hast cast us off, and put us to shame; and goest not forth with our Armies. Thou makest us to turn back from the Enemy: And they which hate us spoil for themselves.”

will be best done by a Discussion of the following
QUESTION.

“ Whe-

The complaint here, is, that God no longer *went forth with the Armies of his People*, but suffer'd them to be subdued and conquered by their Enemies. If then the Dr. supposes this Complaint to have been reasonable and well-grounded, he must suppose withal, that no extraordinary Providence was exercised *over the State*, since the Psalmist is here evidently speaking of a such Providence. And yet the Reality of such a Providence has been as strongly asserted by the Dr. as by the Author  his learned Adversary. But what if this very Passage be a strong Proof of the extraordinary Providence in Question? It is so, if these Defeats were in Punishment for National Crimes, as it is very probable they were.

The Dr. in Support of his Opinion, appeals to Psalm xxvii. And yet the general Scope and Tenour of this Psalm is perfectly consistent with the Doctrine of the *D. L.* which supposes that good Men were *generally*, but not *always* or *constantly* rewarded in this Life. “ The Lord is my Light, and my
“ Salvation, whom shall I fear; the Lord is the Strength
“ of my Life, of whom shall I be afraid?

“ When the Wicked, even mine Enemies and my Foes
“ came upon me to eat up my Flesh, *they stumbled and fell.*

“ Though an Host should encamp against me, my Heart
“ shall not fear, though War should rise against me, in this
“ will I be confident.

————— “ *For in the time of Trouble he shall hide me in his
“ Pavilion: In the secret of his Tabernacle shall he hide me, he
“ shall set me upon a Rock.*

“ When my Father and my Mother forsake me, then the
“ Lord will take me up, 1, 2, 3, 5, 10.

I shall say nothing of his other Authorities, as I only proposed to give the Reader a short Specimen of the manner, in which he had managed this part of the Argument.

To return to the Author of the *D. L.* The *several* Restrictions with which he has limited and explained his Notion of an extraordinary Providence, are in effect so many Declarations, that he never supposed it to descend to every Particular and Individual *without Exception*; or that he meant to affirm any more than with Dr. Clarke, that good Men were *generally* rewarded, and the wicked *generally* punished in the present Life.

Now

“ Whether the DEIST, who owns there is no fu-
 “ ture State in the Law of *Moses*, can give any
 “ natural

Now the Notion of an extraordinary Providence thus circumstanced, and or limited, has been maintained by several of our most considerable and learned Writers. One cannot indeed help observing, that some of these are not perfectly consistent with themselves in what they have advanced on this Subject. And this seems to have been the Case of the late Dr. *Clarke*, who in the Passage above quoted asserts the Administration of an extraordinary Providence in very significant and strong Terms; and yet intimates in other Places, that the Methods and Dispensations of Providence under the Law were just the same as they are now under the Gospel.

One of the best and ablest of our present Prelates has deliver'd his opinion in the following manner. “ *He*, who himself “ ordained these Laws, being infinite *Wisdom*, *Goodness*, and “ *Power*, obliged himself, in the nature of the thing, to be the “ *Guardian of Innocence*; and to take care that *no guiltless Per-* “ *son* should suffer by them. And therefore, it cannot be “ supposed, where God himself, in cases of civil Govern- “ ment, was the *immediate Lawgiver*, that the Laws were “ left wholly to the Execution of Men, without any *Interpo-* “ *sition from Him*. For all *Lawgivers* do, as much as they “ possibly can, take care that *Innocence* shall never Suffer.” Bp. of *Bangor's* Answer to the Convention. p. 25.

His Lordship affirms here that God, as he had assumed the Office of civil Governour, would not leave his Laws wholly to the care and management of Men, but would himself interpose, that they might be properly and duly executed. Now such Divine Interpositions, do of course constitute and make the extraordinary Providence asserted by the Author of the *D. L.*

I understand his Lordship as here speaking of the Laws in general, and not only of the particular Law in question between him and his Adversary. 1. He says, that *the Laws* were not left wholly to the Execution of Man. 2. Assuming the Office of civil Governour would oblige God to extend his Care over the other Laws as well as this. — And here the Opinion of this truly great and Learned Man is recommended to the particular Consideration of Dr. *Sykes*.

The late learned Dr. *Jenkins* attempts to remove a common and popular Objection to some of the Psalms in the following Words. “ God had expressly threatened to inflict

“ natural, consistent, and probable Account of the
 “ Conduct of that Legislator in establishing a public
 lic

“ Punishment in this Life, for the Transgression of the
 “ Jewish Laws; and therefore to pray to God that his Judgments might overtake Evil-doers, was no more than it is
 “ in other Governments, to prosecute Offenders before the
 “ Magistrate. They appeal to God to put his Laws in Force
 “ against them, and not to suffer the Wicked to go unpunished in Contempt of those Laws, which he had appointed,
 “ and under that Dispensation which was established upon
 “ temporal Rewards and Punishments.

“ Under the Gospel the case is different. For now we are
 “ not to expect that *temporal Rewards and Punishments should*
 “ *constantly follow* upon the Performance or Transgression of
 “ our Duty; but both of them may be commonly reserved
 “ to a future State. A Christian may not pray for Judgments
 “ upon his Enemies, because God has not so peremptorily declared by the Gospel, that he will inflict his Punishments in
 “ this Life, as he had done by the Law.” *Jenkyns’s Reasonableness*, v. 2. p. 341, 2.

It is evidently supposed here, that temporal Rewards and Punishments were commonly dispensed to Particulars and Individuals amongst the Jews, in proportion to their Observance or Transgression of the Law of Moses.

We find that some of our most eminent Writers, who have occasionally touched this Question since the Appearance of the *D. L.* do intirely agree with our Author in what he has alledged on this Subject. See a late excellent Pamphlet, entitled, *Considerations on the Laws of Forfeiture*, p. 20, 21. Ed. I.—Mr. Fortin’s very useful and ingenious *Discourses on the Christian Religion*, p. 11, 158. Ed. I.—The Learned Mr. Arch-deacon Law’s *Considerations*. p. 112.

But I need not mention others, when Dr. Stebbing himself agrees with the Author of the *D. L.* in asserting the Reality of an extraordinary Providence. (*Examination* p. 53, 4. *History of Abraham*, p. 81.) I must observe too that he carries this Notion as far, or maintains it in the same Latitude and Extent with his Learned Adversary. For what does Mr. W. affirm more than that the extraordinary Interpositions under the Law were frequent, and visible enough to preserve and keep up the Memory of the one true God amongst the Jews, whilst it was extinguished and lost every where else?

Now

“ lic and national Religion, without that Doc-
 “ trine.” Or, “ Whether the Absence and O-
 “ mission of the Doctrine of a future State in the
 “ *Mosaic*

Now the Dr. himself has long since told us, that this was the real Case. “ It is surely no hard matter to understand, how
 “ those (the *Jews*) should be rescued from the general Cor-
 “ ruption, who were under the *immediate Direction of God*,
 “ who manifested himself to them by the Voice of his Pro-
 “ phets; and by a great variety of extraordinary and un-
 “ common Events, gave them incontestable Evidence of his Pre-
 “ sence among them.”

It is affirmed too by the Dr. a page or two before, that a Revelation made at this Period, would have been of great Use and Importance, and worthy the Wisdom and Goodness of God, if it only answered the Purpose abovemention’d, or served to perpetuate the Memory of the true God among the *Israelites*, whilst all the rest of the World was cover’d and overspread with Idolatry and Superstition. (*Answer to Christianity as old as the Creation.* p. 56, 7, 8.)

I would then desire the Reader to observe that Dr. Stebbing and the Author of the *D. L.* are perfectly agreed as to the Reality and Existence of an extraordinary Providence. And as the Dr. holds this to be a Principle of Importance, I make no question, but he will appear in its Defence, whenever he finds it attacked by Objections, that may deserve his Notice. To Him therefore I shall refer Dr. Sykes, for a proper Answer to what he has advanced in his Discourse on this Question. For He, by thus graciously interposing his own Opinion, has fairly discharged Mr. W. from this part of the Controversy, and made himself responsible for the Truth and Reality of the Principle, now happily become Orthodox.

And to his Honour be it said, on this Occasion, that instead of hurting the general Argument of the *D. L.* he has indeed done it great Service.

I. By asserting this Notion of an extraordinary Providence, he has engaged to defend one part of this Argument against the Objections of Dr. Sykes.

II. By declaring that the Sanctions of the Law were purely temporal, he has laid himself under a Necessity of removing the several Difficulties proposed by Dr. Rutherford, in his *Essay on Virtue*, so far as relates to the Argument of the *D. L.*

III. By espousing such Doctrines as will oblige him to suppose, the *Jews* had no knowledge of a future State, he has, in his

“ *Mosaic* Institutes, can be solved and explained by
 “ them, without supposing Him to have had some
 “ previous Assurance or Persuasion, that an extraor-
 “ dinary Providence would be actually administered.

On the Idea which the *Deists* have of the Law of *Moses*, there seem to be many strong and unanswerable Reasons, why he should have made a future State the Sanction of his Religion; and his neglecting to do this, is altogether unaccountable, if we suppose him to have been in the same Situation and Circumstances, and to have acted on the same common Principles with the other Founders of Religion and Society in the old Pagan World.

1. The *first* Reason I shall assign, is the great Usefulness and Importance of the Doctrine itself, as it was absolutely necessary to support Religion, and consequently Society, under the Dispensation of a common and ordinary Providence. And, what is more, it was actually seen by the ancient Sages and Founders of Religion in the Pagan World, to

last Piece, confuted and overturned the grand and principal Argument of his *first*.

One might even shew that he has made such a Supposition necessary and essential to a Defence of Revelation against *Deists* and Unbelievers.

In the foregoing Note I had no Intention to declare and explain any Opinion of my own with regard to the main Point in Dispute between Mr. *W.* and Dr. *Sykes*, i. e. the Reality of an extraordinary Providence under the *Jewish* Dispensation. What I have endeavour'd to shew, is, 1. that our Author cannot be fairly and reasonably charged with supposing that the extraordinary Providence was to descend to every Particular, and Individual without Exception. 2. That the Arguments I have quoted, as advanced by Dr. *Sykes*, make nothing against the Notion of an extraordinary Providence, consider'd within the proper Bounds and Limitations, by which it is stated and defined in the *D. L.* 3. That Dr. *Stebbing* himself is responsible for all Mr. *W.* has advanced on this Subject, since he himself has asserted the very same Opinion.

have

have been thus necessary for this very Purpose *. Now as *Moses* is allowed to have been consummate in his Trade, to have been perfectly versed in the Principles of the *Egyptian Theology*, and to have been exquisitely skilled in the Science of *Legislation*, there can be no question, but that he was sensible and conscious of the great Use and Importance of this Doctrine, and well knew, that under a common and ordinary Providence, neither Religion nor Society would be able to subsist without it. If then *Moses* was convinced of the great Use, Importance, and Necessity of the Doctrine of a future State, how will the *Deist* be able to account for his omitting it, in his religious Institutes?

2. It is usual for Unbelievers to insult us with observing, that *Moses* was trained and educated in all the Learning of *Egypt*, and had contracted strong and early Prejudices in Favour of the particular Customs and Institutions of this Country. Be it so: Where, I would ask, was this Learning of his more likely to exert itself, or where could one so naturally expect to see its Influence, as in the forming a *new Constitution* for his People? Upon the Ideas of these Men, it seems reasonable to suppose that he would take the religious System of *Egypt*, as a Plan or Model, by which to erect his own: And consequently, that he would have made a future State the Sanction of *his* Religion, as it was in the *Egyptian*.

* I here take for granted two Points, 1. That the Doctrine of a future State is necessary to support Religion under the Dispensation of a common and ordinary Providence. 2. That the Ancients held it to be necessary for this Purpose. Now these two Points I take for granted, both because they have been fully proved by the Author of the *D. L.* and are allowed, or rather asserted by all the Writers against him.

His

His Prejudice and Fondness for the *Doctrines* of *Egypt* must have been as strong as his People's for their *Onions*; and so would naturally have disposed him to cultivate, encourage, and support the Notion of another Life. For so studious were the *Egyptians* of propagating it, that all possible Methods were contrived and put in Use for that Purpose.

The *Deists* say, that he transferred all that was good and profitable from the *Egyptian* Institutes into his own. Why not therefore this best and most profitable of all *Doctrines*?

“ *Egypt* was the great School of Legislation for the rest of Mankind. And so revered were her oracular Precepts, that *foreign* Lawgivers, who went thither for Instruction, never ventured to deviate from any of her fundamental Maxims of Government. In *Religion*, particularly, which always made a Part of *civil Policy*, they so closely adhered to the *Egyptian* Principles, that Posterity, as we have seen, were deceived into an Opinion, that the *Greek* Lawgivers had received their very Gods from thence.

“ What therefore must we think had been the Case of a Native of *Egypt*, bred up from his Infancy in *Egyptian* Wisdom, and at length become a Member of their legislative Body? Would *such a one*, when going to frame a civil Policy and Religion, (though we suppose nothing of that natural Affection, which the best and wisest Men have ever had for their own Country Institutions,) be the least inclined to deviate from any of its principal Maxims of Government;” † or to omit the Doctrine of a future State in his religious Institutes, when the

† Div. Leg.

contrary Practice was common to all who went to *Egypt* for Instruction on this Subject?

This seems to be a Difficulty, that cannot but embarrass and distress the *Deists*, as they are obliged to explain how *Moses's* great Attachment to *Egyptian* Principles and Maxims, would permit him to deviate and depart from the common Practice of *Egypt* in so capital a Point.

3. To the Prejudice and Fondness of *Moses*, we may add the Prejudice and Fondness of his People, with respect to this Notion. The *Jews*, it is confessed on all Hands, had most largely imbibed the *Egyptian* Customs. Now the *Deists* observe, that *Moses* as a wise Governor, who understood human Nature, accommodated his Institutes to the Inveteracy of such Prejudices and Prepossessions. Let the *Deist* then tell us, why *Moses* would not humour his People in this salutary Prejudice, as well as in some others which were merely indifferent.

4. It has been observed, that the *Jewish* Religion, had it been of more human Institution, would have had a more particular and immediate Necessity for this Doctrine.

It is therefore natural to imagine, that *Moses* would have been more particularly careful to teach it, and to possess the Minds of his People more strongly with it, if we suppose with the *Deist*, that his Commission was only pretended, or that he was all the Time under mere human Guidance and Direction.

5. Let us recollect, that the *Israelites* were a stubborn Race, now first forming into civil Society; greatly licentious, and the more so, for their just coming out of a State of Slavery. Now as *Moses* had to do with so perverse, obstinate, and head-strong a People, there can be no Question,

tion, but that he would employ every Curb and Restraint, that might tend to keep them in Order, Here then, I say, it will be natural and pertinent to ask, why *Moses* did not take the Advantage of the common Doctrine of a future State, and make it the Sanction of his religious Institutes.

6. It may be proper to observe, that the *Israelites* were Men of dull and heavy Understandings; not at all inured to close and abstract Meditation, and so, very unlikely to discover and find out this Doctrine by the Force of their own Reasoning. They were likewise gross and carnally minded, and not at all disposed to raise and elevate their Thoughts above the Consideration of this present Life. Now if *Moses* held this Doctrine to be of the highest Use and Importance, and expected it should have its proper Influence on the People; is it probable, or even credible, that he would have left Men thus disposed to get and keep it as they could, and not have made some particular Provision for it, by inserting it into the Body of his religious Institutes? Considering the State and Condition of this People, one might naturally and reasonably presume, that it should have been opened, explained and recommended to their Belief, in every Page; or that *Moses* would have made it his principal Business to inculcate, support and encourage the Hope and Expectation of another Life.

On the System of the *Deists*, therefore, which supposes *Moses* to have been under no Direction but of his own Judgment, there seem to have been many plain and unanswerable reasons, why he should have made a future State the Sanction of his religious System.

What

What these Gentlemen have to do, is to explain, why, in the Circumstances here supposed he chose to deliver a System of Religion, unsupported by the Doctrine of a future State. I will beg leave likewise to recommend to their Consideration another Circumstance, *viz.* that *Moses* forbade every the least Addition to his written Institutes, in order to keep them intire, and unadulterated with any foreign Mixture, whereby they may collect, his Intention was that the People should not supply the Absence and Omission of a future State, by any Addition of their own.

So far then was *Moses* from taking the proper Advantage of this Doctrine to the Support and Establishment of his Religion, that he rather contrived to prevent its having any Influence of that Sort. He not only omitted to teach it among his other Doctrines, for the Establishment of his System, but even debarred his People from applying it to that Purpose, by directing that no Addition should be made to his written Institutes. *

It is then the Business of the *Deists* to account for this Conduct of *Moses*, and to explain, whence there

* It has been affirmed by Dr. *Stebbing*, that the *Jews* might collect the Doctrine of a future State by the Light of their own Reason as well as the *Gentiles*. *Examination*, p. 30. But would he recollect what he himself owns, that the Sanctions of the Law were purely temporal; and what he must oft have read, that *Moses* expressly forbade the making any Addition to his written Laws, he would see this Restriction, if it had its proper Influence and Force, would not suffer the *Jews* to adopt the Notion of a future State, in which the Observers and Transgressors of the Law were to be rewarded and punished, according to their Obedience or Disobedience in the present Life. For such a Supposition would have been nothing less than annexing a new and additional Sanction to the Law, in direct Opposition to a plain and express Precept of the Law itself.

there arose so singular and extraordinary a Difference between *his* Institution, and *all the other* Institutions of Mankind. And they are to account for, and explain this singular and extraordinary Conduct, consistently with their own Principles,

If he will say, that the Light of Reason would authorise them to make a Conclusion in Favour of a future State, he must say, that the same Light would authorise them to make an *Addition* to the written Law.

But, surely, when *Moses* forbid this *Addition*, Reason would prescribe the Observance of the Prohibition, and direct them to sit down content with bare temporal Sanctions, without attempting to better and improve them by any refined Conclusions of their own.

We must take this, too, along with us, that they were under an *extraordinary* Dispensation, administering, and holding out the Things of this World. So that dissatisfied Reason was under no Necessity to excogitate and indulge new Opinions; nor, under a Temptation, against a Prohibition, to add to the established Doctrines.

I have the Pleasure to find what has been here said confirmed by the Dr. himself in another Part of this very Pamphlet, and indeed within the Distance of only four Pages. " Were it as
" certain that the *Jews* had no Knowledge of the Doctrine
" of a future State, before *Moses* spake to them, as it is true
" that the Sanctions of his Law are purely temporal; and had
" the Case been, that *Moses* introduced this Doctrine upon *his*
" own Authority, as an additional Sanction, he would then
" have added to the *written Institutes*. But upon the *Supposition*
" that *Moses* found them in *Possession* of this Doctrine, in Con-
" sequence of a former Covenant, what *Moses* hath said in
" *Testimony* to this Doctrine, be it little, or be it much, is no
" more an Addition to the Law, than if he had taught them
" *Arithmetick*, *Geometry*, or any other Science, in which the
" *Essence* and *Constitution* of the Law had nothing to do."

P. 35.

Now if *Moses* could not annex this Doctrine as an additional Sanction to the Law upon his own Authority, neither could the People upon theirs. Or if nothing less than the Credit and Authority of a prior Revelation or divine Covenant could reasonably induce the *Jews* to entertain the Belief of another Life, we may fairly conclude, that they could not collect it from the Light of their own Reason.

or

or upon the Supposition that *Moses* was all the while actuated by the *same* Principles, Motives, and Views with the other Founders of Religion in the ancient World. In a word, they are to shew, how the Influence of the same common Principles and Maxims would dispose *Moses* to deviate from the same common Practice.—And they are to shew, how the Prejudices he had imbibed in Favour of *Egyptian* Wisdom, should tempt him to neglect and overlook its great and fundamental Maxims in forming his own Constitution. For these Gentlemen suppose him to have taken the religious Policy of *Egypt* for his *Pattern* and *Model*, and yet suppose him to have acted, as if he had been an utter Stranger to the great Principles of *Egyptian* Policy and Wisdom.

What a Train of Absurdities therefore attend this Scheme or Supposition of the *Deists*? According to their Representation of the Cause, the Conduct of *Moses* is to the last Degree capricious, irrational, and absurd: And yet these same Gentlemen all the Time suppose *Moses* to have been consummate in his Business, to have been deeply versed in the Study of *Egyptian* Theology, and to have been a perfect Master of the Science of Legislation. Nay, what is more, they suppose him to have exemplified his own great and uncommon Wisdom in the Institutes deliver'd by him.

Thus stands the Argument between the Author of the *Divine Legation* and the *Deists*.

The Point in Dispute, is, Whether the Conduct of *Moses* in establishing a publick and national Religion, which had not the Doctrine of a future State, can be properly explained and accounted for, on the Principles of *mere human Policy and Wisdom*.

Let unbelieving Writers, therefore, of all Denominations answer *this*. And not continue to go on, like a late Author *, to discredit that Institution, by retailing the stale Common-place against it, of the *Fall of Man*, the *universal Deluge*, the *Choice of God's People*, their *Deliverance from Slavery* by *Prodigies and Miracles*, which have been answered a thousand Times over, and to the avowed Satisfaction of every great Name, that has appeared in the literary World since the Revival of Letters, such as *Bacon*, *Barrow*, *Boyle*, *Newton*, *Lock*, and a hundred others.

“ *Moses*, says a late celebrated Writer, was
 “ trained in all the *Learning of the Egyptians*;
 “ which Learning was employ'd more especially
 “ in the *Study of Theology*. They were held the
 “ *first Inventors of religious Rites and Ceremonies*,
 “ of *Pomps and Processions*. And where was *this*
 “ *Learning* of his more likely to exert itself:
 “ where could we so naturally expect to see its
 “ Influence, as in forming the *civil and ecclesiasti-*
 “ *cal Polity* of his new *Common-wealth*. †

It will be allowed on all Hands, that this is a very natural and reasonable Expectation, upon the Supposition, that *Moses* was all the Time under mere human Guidance and Direction, and was left to manage and conduct his Scheme, according to the Principles and Notions imbibed in his Youth in the Schools and Colleges of *Egypt*. Upon this Supposition, I would ask, whence it came, that *Moses*, who, by his Education, must have been prejudiced in Favour of the Use of a future State, ventur'd to establish a public and national Religion, unsupported by its Sanction? One can hardly ima-

* Hume's *Philosophical Essays concerning human Understanding*, p. 201, 202.

† Dr. Middleton's Letter to Dr. Waterland, p. 31.

gine that Writers so delicate with regard to the *Mosaic* History, will be ready to acquiesce in any of the Solutions hitherto given by the *believing* Answerers of the *Div. Leg.* to the Problem here proposed to the Consideration of *Unbelievers*. As

1. That there was no real Difference in this respect, between *Moses*, and the other Founders of States and Religions in the ancient World, since none of the last made a future State the Sanction of their civil Institutions, any more than *Moses* did of his.

2. That he did not teach and inculcate the Doctrine of a future State as the Sanction of his religious System, because he was only appointed Minister of the *temporal Covenant*.

3. That it was perfectly needless and unnecessary for *Moses* to deliver this Doctrine in his written Institutes, since the People were already in Possession of it.

We will now consider these several Objections, to the Doctrine of the *Div. Leg.* only premising that we all along proceed upon a Principle which has been as strongly asserted, by Dr. *Stebbing*, as by that Author himself, *viz.* That the *Sanctions of the Law were purely temporal*, or that it made no Provision for the Doctrine of a future State. *

1. We

* Some of the Writers against the *D. L.* contend that future Rewards and Punishments were the real Sanction of the *Mosaic* Religion, but Dr. *S.* is so far from favouring this Notion, that he declares it to be intirely false and groundless. He tells us, " a future State of Rewards and Punishments is no constituent part of that Dispensation which was introduced by *Moses*; nor taught by him as properly appertaining to his Law. ——— *Moses*, as an authorised Teacher, could not declare the Doctrine of a future State."

" If it (a future State) had been in his Institutes, it must have been in his Commission, in which it is agreed, it had no Place." Examination, p. 7.

1. We are told then, that none of the ancient Lawgivers ever made a future State the Sanction of his Laws. And if so, (say they) what is there extraordinary and uncommon in the Omission and Absence of this Doctrine, in the *Mosaic* Institutes?

To

P. 8, 9. he owns " that the Doctrine of a future State is " no constituent part of the Institution of *Moses*, or that the " declaring and publishing that Doctrine was no part of " his *Commission*."

He says, " the Sanctions of the Law were purely temporal." p. 35.

" It is granted, that the Promise of eternal Life was not " by the Law.——If the Promise of eternal Life had " been by the Law, or which is all one, had the legal Cove- " nant contained that Promise, there would indeed have been " NO NEED of any other Covenant." p. 81.

" In truth, it (the Law) could not contain it (the Doc- " trine of a future State,) being a Covenant of another Na- " ture." p. 82.

In all these Passages the Dr. declares with great Frankness, not only that future Rewards and Punishments were not, but even could not be the Sanction of the Law. Nay, he goes so far as to affirm, that the contrary Supposition would make the Gospel quite needless and unnecessary.

These may perhaps seem *hard Sayings* to Dr. *Rutherford*, and those Gentlemen, who would persuade us, that a future State was the Sanction of the Law; and they may, if they think proper, call Dr. *Stebbing* to account for them. If they apprehend their Arguments to have any real Force, they must apply to him for a proper Answer; the Controversy will lie between them and the Doctor, who fairly discharges the Author of the *D. L.* from this part of the Debate, and takes upon himself the Defence of the principal Point in Dispute.

I must take Notice, that the Difference between Dr. *Stebbing*, and the Author of the *Essay on Virtue* * is far from being slight and inconsiderable. For each has, in effect, charged the other with maintaining Notions destructive of revealed Religion, or with assigning the Law of *Moses* such Characters, as make it absolutely unworthy of God.

Dr. *Stebbing* tells us, that the Sanctions of the Religion instituted by *Moses* were purely temporal. Now the Author of the *Essay* makes no Scruple to suggest that a Religion thus circumstanced, and destitute of the Sanction of a future State,

* Dr. *Rutherford*.

To this I reply, that if we will take in (as we should, if we would act fairly) the *whole Character* of

State, could not be supposed to come from God. He tells us that *future Rewards and Punishments*, as well as *temporal*, are contained in the *Jewish* Institutes. But Dr. *Stebbing* is so far from acquiescing in this Notion, that he declares it to be false and groundless, and even destructive of the *Christian* Revelation.

On the one hand Dr. *S.* charges the Author of the *Essay* with overturning the Grounds and Foundation of the *Christian Dispensation* : For that annexing a future State to the Law makes it so perfect, as even to supersede the use of the Gospel.

On the other hand, the Author of the *Essay* charges Dr. *S.* with weakening and impairing the proper Authority or Divine Character of *Moses*. For he affirms, that the stripping and divesting the Law of this Doctrine, would make it utterly unworthy of God, or would of itself be a proper and sufficient Confutation of its Pretence to a Divine Original.

Here then I would ask Dr. *Stebbing*, why in his *second* Pamphlet he took no Notice of this Principle advanced by the Author of the *Essay* which makes a future State the Sanction of the Law? Since he had branded it as destructive of *Christianity* in his *first* Piece, why did he not, in his *second*, apply his Censure, and call this Delinquent to account, as it appears by his Polemic Works he has long ago assumed the Office to do. If *Truth*, as he affects to tell us, *was what he sought*, he would be as ready to oppose dangerous Errors, when found in the *Essay*, as when they make their Appearance in the *D. L.* Or has the writing against this last Book so much Merit, in the Opinion of the Dr. that it will even atone for propagating such Doctrines as he holds to be fatal to the *Christian Cause*?

I find too that the present Bishop of *London* agrees with Dr. *St.* in this Question, or supposes that the Law had no Sanctions but such as were purely temporal. His Lordship tells us, that " the Law of *Moses* was founded in no other *express* Promises, than those of temporal Happiness and Prosperity ; in no other *express* Threatnings, than those of temporal Loss and Misery." 4th Discourse on Prophecy.

It will then be necessary for the Author of the *Essay* to confute what his Lordship and Dr. *Stebbing* have been able to advance in support of the contrary Opinion, before he can expect that his own Notion should be received against the Author of the *D. L.* And since Dr. *Stebbing* so freely declares that

of *Moses*, we must consider him as a *Divine*, and the

this Notion is *inconsistent* with, and *destructive* of the Gospel, it will be incumbent on him to defend the other Side of the Question against the Author of the *Essay*, or otherwise he will be thought to have given up Christianity as he would a mere Fiction and Imposture.

To encourage him in this task, he may observe, that all our late Writers of *Credit* and *Distinction* perfectly agree in discarding the Doctrine of the *Essay*, and in declaring for the Opinion which makes the Sanctions of the Law purely temporal.

One of our more judicious as well as able Advocates for Revelation tells us, "that the Sanctions of the Law were temporal." And he is so far from conceiving a future State to have been an additional Sanction, that he hardly supposes the *Jews* to have had any Knowledge of it in the more early Ages of the Covenant. "Though the Law promised temporal good things to the Good, yet the *Jews* knew by long Experience, that those Promises had not been fulfilled at all Times, and to all Persons. Extraordinary Interpositions in behalf of the Righteous were grown less frequent, and proportionably to this Decrease, the Intimations of a future State had been more numerous and evident." *Fortin's Discourses*, p. 10, 11. Ed. I. which last Words, tho' they are not quoted from, yet seem to refer to, the *D. L.*

The very worthy and learned the Archdeacon of *Carlisle* observes, "that the *Jewish* Covenant consisted in temporal Things," And assigns this as the reason of it's imperfection: He supposes that a more rational and sublime System of Duties could not be prescribed by it, because it had no Motives to offer, but such as related to the present Life. Again; "the whole *Jewish* Institution (says he) was a State of Discipline and Bondage under the Elements of this World, a sort of servile Confinement and tutelary Regimen, conducting them by present temporal Rewards and earthly Prospects; affording only a dark distant Intimation of better Things, and introducing these in figurative Representations, by Sacrifices, Types, and Emblems." *Of the several Dispensations of revealed Religion*, p. 112, 116, 7.

The learned Dr. *Chapman* declares, that "the penal Sanctions annex'd to the Law, and the rewards to Obedience, were only of a temporal kind." *Eusebius*, vol. 2. p. 184.

Thus do my Lord of *London*, Dr. *St.* and the other Writers, here quoted, concur in asserting that the Sanctions of the Law were purely temporal. In their hands therefore

the Founder of a Religion, as well as a *Statesman* and the Founder of a civil Policy. Now, I ask, why, as a Founder of Religion, he did not expressly mention the Doctrine of a future State; or, in other Words, why he did not make it the Sanction of his Religious Institutes? Whoever will answer to the purpose must say, that there is nothing unusual or extraordinary, in this Conduct of *Moses*; and, to prove what he says, must produce Instances of other Founders of Religion in the ancient World, whose Systems are not supported on the Sanctions of a future State.

When we are told, that the ancient Lawgivers did not expressly teach the Doctrine of another Life, we shall probably ask, whether they be considered as mere Legislators, or Founders of civil Policy; or whether, their Character of Divines, and Founders of Religion, is not to be taken in? If it be answered, as mere Lawgivers; we shall reply, this is by no means a Case in Point; because *Moses* gave a System of *religious* as well as of *civil* Institutes; and the inquiry now before us is, why he did not make a future State the Sanction of the *first*. If it be said, that they were Divines as well as Statesmen; and Founders of Religion as well as of civil Policy, it will be readily allowed, that their Examples are properly and pertinently alledged. But then the Business will be to find

I shall chuse to leave *this part* of the Controversy, having no Inclination to enlarge upon a Point, which seems to be already fixed and determined by the public Voice.

In a Word, Dr. *Steb.* has so greatly eased the Defence of the *D. L.* that he has even turned Advocate for it's Author, and this, in two very considerable and important Articles, having undertaken to prove, against the Author of the *Essay*, that the *Sanctions* of the *Law* were purely *temporal*; and against the Reverend Dr. *Sykes*, that it's Affairs were administered by an extraordinary Providence.

these Founders of Religion and Society together, who have given a Body of Religious Institutes, in which a future State does not enter as the Sanction: Or at least to find them in their Works, that is, some national Religion, in which this Doctrine does not make a principal and essential part.

It has been said too, but surely impertinently enough, Why should we reckon it as any thing singular or extraordinary that *Moses* did not expressly inculcate the Notion of a future State, since other Lawgivers have not done it; and the Laws of *Spain, France, England*, and other Countries do not particularly contain it?

But the Question is not, why *Moses* did not mention a future State in the Body of his *civil* Laws, but why he did not mention it in his *religious*. The proper instance, therefore, is of a System of religious Institutes become public and established, in which the Doctrine of a future State is not taught. And I apprehend they must go farther than *France* or *Spain*, for such an Instance.

Here then they should reflect a little on the particular Nature of the *Mosaic* Constitution, where Religion and civil Policy were perfectly incorporated, and bound up together into one System. The Law of *Moses* contained both the national Religion and the civil Policy of the *Jews*; and we should naturally expect to find in it the proper Sanctions both of religious and civil Laws; But those of the former, which are found in all other Places, are here wanting.

When we ask therefore, why *Moses* did not make a future State part of his Institutes, we ask why it came neither into his religious nor his civil System. And it is to no purpose to reply, that other Lawgivers do not make it part of their civil System.

We

We ask, why the *Law* of *Moses* did not contain the Doctrine of another Life? The Objectors Answer, that the *Laws* of other Countries do not contain it. Here they begin to quibble; a certain sign that their reasoning is all run off, and the Dreggs only of an Argument remain. The word *Law*, when apply'd to the *Jewish* Constitution, signifies a Body both of religious and civil Institutes; When applied to other Constitutions, it means no more than a Collection of mere civil *Laws*.

So much for *Moses* consider'd as a Divine, or Minister of Religion. The great Difference between him and all the other Founders of Religion in the ancient World, we assert to be this, that He only gave a public and national System of Religion, which was not established on the Sanction of a future State.

But if we consider him merely as a Lawgiver, we shall find that even in this respect there was a wide and considerable Difference between him and all the other Lawgivers in the ancient World. We find that the rest took care to establish a public and national Religion, which was supported on the Doctrine of a future State. Now *Moses* himself agreed to the general Practice of establishing a public and national Religion, as believing that Society would not be able to subsist without one; but then the Religion established by him had not the Doctrine of another Life. Here I ask, whence comes so wide and considerable a Difference between the Conduct of *Moses* and all other ancient Lawgivers; and why did not he, consider'd as a mere *Statesman* and *Politician*, think it as necessary for him to establish a Religion with a future State, as it was for all others?

Upon the whole, one cannot, I think, but conclude, that the Conduct of *Moses* was singular and uncommon;

uncommon; and that he differ'd from the other ancient Worthies, to whom he has been compared, in *two* Respects. If we consider him as the Founder of a Religion, we must own, that he was the only one in the ancient World, whose System was not supported by the Doctrine of a future State. If we consider him as a Lawgiver, we must own, that he was the only one in the ancient World, who thought fit to establish a public and national Religion, unsupported by the Doctrine of a future State.

In examining this first Objection, I have taken occasion to observe, that *Moses* must be consider'd as the Author of a religious as well as of a civil System, since he instituted a public and national Religion for the Use of the *Israelites*.

In examining the two next Objections, I shall take Occasion to observe, that the *Deists* and Unbelievers, to whom the Argument of the *Divine Legation* is addressed, must confess and acknowledge, that the *Israelites* had no Religion besides *this*, or had no System of religious Institutes, separate and distinct from that deliver'd by *Moses*.

We now proceed to the *second* Objection.

2. " It is said, that *Moses* could not teach and
 " inculcate the Doctrine of a future State as the
 " Sanction of his religious Institutes, because he
 " was only appointed Minister of the temporal
 " Covenant. For that the Notion of another
 " Life was reserved to be revealed in God's ap-
 " pointed Time by *Jesus*, the Minister of the se-
 " cond or spiritual Covenant."

This Reasoning plainly supposes the Reality and Truth both of the *Jewish* and the *Christian* Dispensations. How therefore does it suit the *Deist*, against whom the Argument of the *Divine Legation* of *Moses* is addressed?

To

To say that *Moses* was appointed Minister of the temporal Covenant, is plainly assigning him a Commission from God. We ask the *Deists*, how they will account for the Absence and Omision of a future State in the *Jewish* Institutes, upon the Supposition that *Moses* was, as they represent him, a mere human Leader. The present Objection informs us, that this Question may be answer'd upon the Supposition that he really had a divine Mission. But is not this in effect owning, that we cannot account for the Conduct of *Moses*, unless we suppose his *Divine Legation*? And is not this the very Thing Mr. *W.* contends for?

It has been said too, that *Moses* had no Occasion to teach and inculcate a future State in his Institutes, since it was his Business to have it understood that the Promise of another Life, was Part of the *Christian* Covenant. But the *Deist* will not be disposed to adopt this Reasoning, since it would oblige him to allow the Reality of some very distant and remote Prophecies, which would establish the Truth and Authority both of the *Christian* and the *Jewish* Dispensations.

Nothing surely can be more extravagant, irrational and absurd, than this Kind of Reasoning when urged in *Opposition* to the Argument of the *Divine Legation*. The great Foundation of this Argument, is, that there is a real Difference between the Conduct of *Moses*, and that of all the other Founders of Religion in the ancient World: And such a Difference as cannot be accounted for and explained, according to the Principles of mere human Policy and Wisdom, or without supposing *Moses* to have been under the particular Guidance and Direction of Heaven. And do the Objectors pretend to account for this Difference upon the common Principles of human Policy and Wisdom,
or

or without asserting any Thing supernatural and divine in the Character and Conduct of *Moses*? So far from it, that they put *Moses* into the very Situation assigned him by the Argument of the *D. L.* and consider this Difference as nothing less than the immediate Order and Appointment of God. For what can they mean else, when they tell us, that *Moses* was not permitted to make a future State the Sanction of his Religion, because he was appointed Minister of the temporal Covenant only?

If these Gentlemen would invalidate the Argument of the *Divine Legation*, and so afford the *Deists* real Assistance, (as seems to be their aim) they should endeavour to shew, how this Difference may be accounted for agreeably to the Principles of mere human Policy and Prudence, and without supposing any thing supernatural and divine in the Character or Conduct of *Moses*.

One may then reasonably conjecture, that the *Deists* will not think themselves any further obliged to the Author of this Objection, than as he has shewn himself an equal Enemy with them to the Author of the *Divine Legation*. For if this Evasion could enable them to elude the Argument of the *Divine Legation*, yet it would be at the hard Expence of supposing the Truth and Divinity both of the Gospel and the Law, or of allowing the divine Mission of *Jesus*, as well as that of *Moses*.

So much for the second Objection.

The *Deists* put *Moses* upon the same footing, and assign him the same Views, Principles, and Motives of Conduct with the other Founders of Religion in the ancient World. It is therefore their Business to explain, how the common Principles of ancient Legislation and Wisdom could induce *Moses* to establish a public and national Religion, which had not the Support of a future State.

And

And this they must do, before they can receive any Benefit from the third Objection.

3. " That it was perfectly needless and unnecessary for *Moses* to deliver this Doctrine in his written Institutes, since the People were already ready in Possession of it."

Now by this may be either meant, that the public Establishment of this Doctrine, and the making it a part of the national Religion, is not necessary *in the Nature and Reason of Things*; or that the common Principles of ancient Legislation and Wisdom, would not lead *Moses* to imagine, that such an Establishment was necessary, where a future State was already a general and prevailing Doctrine.

I will begin with examining this Proposition in the last Sense, because in that Sense it seems more immediately to affect the present Argument. The Question then is, Whether the common Principles of ancient Legislation and Wisdom would lead *Moses* to imagine, that a public Establishment of this Doctrine was unnecessary, when it was already received and entertained by the People. In Support of the Negative, I would observe, that many of the Founders of Religion, in the ancient World, were in the very Circumstances and Situation here supposed, or had to do with a People who were already in Possession of this very Doctrine. But notwithstanding this previous Persuasion and Belief, they did not fail to make a proper Provision for it, or to give it a Place in the public and national Religion. The previous Persuasion and Belief therefore of this Doctrine, was not deemed a sufficient Reason, why it should not be made a Part of, or incorporated into, the national Religion, when the common Principles of ancient
Legislation

Legislation and Wisdom were suffered to exert themselves in their full Force.

It may be proper to add, that the Ancients not only made this Doctrine a Part of the natural Religion, but afterwards contrived several Methods in order to cultivate, preserve, and support the Belief of it. So far were they from imagining that the present Reception of it would make all future Care and Concern about it perfectly needless and unnecessary.

We see then, that the Conduct of *Moses* turns out just the Reverse of what it should have been according to the Reasoning of the *Deists*. These Gentlemen have thought fit to put him upon the same Footing, and to assign him the same Views, Principles and Motives of Conduct with the other Founders of Religion in the ancient World. Now if he was left to the Influence of the same Views, Principles and Motives with these other Worthies, one may reasonably presume, that *He*, like the rest, would have taken the Advantage of the common and received Notion of a future State, and have made it the Sanction of the public and national Religion.

Let us now examine this Proposition in the second Sense, or as implying, that, *in the Nature and Reason of the Thing*, it was not proper and necessary for *Moses* to make a future State the Sanction of his Religion, if it was already a popular and common Notion among the *Israelites*. Here then I would observe, that *Moses* must propose and intend to rest his religious System on the Authority of some Sanction or other. The strongest, as well as readiest, would be that which was raised on some Doctrine already authoriz'd by the popular Belief. As therefore he found the People possessed of the Doctrine of a future State, it was natural

tural for him to make it the Sanction of his Religion. The deeper it was imprinted and infixed in the Minds of the People, the more proper would it be for his Purpose, and the better calculated to serve for a Sanction of his religious System. The deeper it was rooted in the Minds of the People, the greater of Course, would be its Influence. And the greater its Influence, the more effectually would it support and promote Obedience to his religious Institutes.

The firm and general Belief therefore of this Doctrine is so far from being a Reason why *Moses* should not have made it the Sanction of his Religion, that it seems to be a plain and unanswerable Reason, why he *should*.

It is the constant Custom of Impostors to take Advantage of the popular Belief, and to establish themselves on the Prejudices and previous Opinions of the People. Now what better Advantage could *Moses* take of the popular Belief of a future State, than to apply it for the Sanction of his religious Institutes?

And, (as he had constituted his Religion) he could not reasonably expect to reap any Benefit or Advantage from this Doctrine, unless he made it the Sanction: for he expressly commands, that nothing should be added to the written System, and enjoins so close an Adherence to it, as would oblige his People to reject and discard all Doctrines that were not contained in it. Hence I infer, that he aimed and proposed to support Obedience to his Religion on the Virtue and Authority of no Motives but what were actually contained in the LAW. You must confess, therefore, that he did not propose to support and enforce Obedience by the Doctrine of a *future State*, if you

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allow

allow that he gave this Doctrine no Place in his religious Institutes.

But I would desire the Objectors to attend a little longer to that Precept of the Law, which forbids any Addition to the written Institutes. And they will see, that, that Prohibition made it needful and necessary for *Moses* to insert into the Body of his Laws all those Doctrines which he deemed proper to preserve and support Obedience. It was therefore necessary for him to have inserted the Doctrine of a future State, if he held it necessary for this Purpose.

These Gentlemen seem to fancy, that it would have been superfluous and impertinent in *Moses*, to make this Doctrine the Sanction of his Religion, as the People were left to their own Discretion to get and preserve it, and to apply and consider it as a Motive of Obedience to the national Religion. But how were they left at Liberty to do this, when they were expressly forbidden to make any Addition to the written Institutes? For considering and applying this Doctrine as a Motive of Obedience, would have been nothing less than annexing foreign and *future* Sanctions, to the *temporal* ones, native to the Law.

Besides, what should lead *Moses* to imagine, that a public Establishment of this Doctrine would have been superfluous and impertinent in *him*, when it was held proper and necessary by all the *other* Founders of Religion. For these latter were so far from trusting their People to themselves in this important Point, or leaving them to apply the Doctrine to the Support of the national Religion, according to their own Judgment and Discretion, that they deliver'd it as the plain and express Sanction of their Institutes?

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What then, after all, becomes of the Objection? The Point in Dispute, is, Whether the general Persuasion and Belief of a future State among the *Israelites* would make it needless and unnecessary for *Moses* to deliver this Doctrine as the Sanction of his religious Institutes. Now it has been shewn, that the common Principles of ancient Legislation and Wisdom, and the Nature and Reason of the Thing would equally dispose *Moses* to make a future State the Sanction of his Religion, in the Circumstance and Situation of a mere human Lawgiver.

It has been shewn too, that it was necessary for *Moses* to insert it into the public and national Religion, if he expected to reap any Benefit and Advantage from it, since he had expressly commanded that no Addition should be made to the written Institutes.

It may be said, that the *Israelites* would be able and disposed to keep and preserve the Doctrine of a future State, even tho' their Lawgiver had made no mention of it.

But why should *Moses* presume or imagine, that they would do this? Was there any Thing peculiar in the Genius and Disposition of the Hebrew People, that would incline them to be more tenacious of this Notion or Principle than the rest of Mankind? It will be necessary for the Objectors to shew, that They were more proper Depositories of this Doctrine, and more likely to retain it, than any other People; for this very reason, because it is pretended, that *Moses* alone left this Principle to shift for itself, and trusted to his People to keep it as they could, even tho' all the other Founders of Religion made a proper and effectual use of it, and, by that means, a provision for it, by inserting it into the Body of their religious Institutes.

It is supposed in the Objection, that *Moses* intended his People should preserve this Doctrine; and be influenced in their Lives, and encouraged and quickened in their Obedience, by it.

But how could he entertain any such Expectation, when he had forbidden the People to make the least addition to the written Institutes, or to annex any Sanctions to them more than those given by himself?

To say that the *Israelites* were able and disposed, without any provision by Him, to preserve and keep this Doctrine, will weigh but little with those, who reflect, that They were a race of gross, carnal, and worldly minded Men, tied down to earthly Expectations and to sensible Objects; and no Ways disposed to raise their Thoughts, and turn their Meditations to the Things of another Life. It seems therefore to be no improbable Supposition, that a future State would have been soon lost and extinguished among a People thus circumstanced, had no Provision been made in its Favour, and they left to keep it as they were able.

Now as *Moses* did thus leave it, and amongst such a People, one can hardly help concluding, that he laid no great Stress upon it, as one well assured that his Institution did not stand in need of it.

We come in the next place to consider the several Objections opposed by Dr. *Stebbing*, to the SECOND Argument of the *Divine Legation*.

And here let me previously take notice of a commodious Fallacy which the Dr. has introduced, and which is ready to serve his Turn on all Occasions; and skulks under this Supposition, *that the Jews were in Possession of another System of Religion, separate and distinct from that deliver'd by Moses.*

Now, I must desire the Reader to recollect, that Mr. *W.* undertakes to prove the *Divine Legation* of

of *Moses* against *Deists* and *Unbelievers*. But these Gentlemen do not suppose, the *Jews* had any Religion but that instituted by *Moses*; and, what is more, their own Principles will not suffer them to suppose any other. But our Doctor says, that they had a prior System, in Consequence of the *Abrahamic* Covenant. Be it so; and it is possible, these Gentlemen may take his word for it, when they are once become Believers. At present, they say, that the *Israelites*, in the Time of *Moses*, were sunk into the grossest and basest of the *Egyptian* Superstitions. They can therefore assign them no prior System, but that of *Egyptian* Idolatry. Now, sure the Dr. will not say that *Moses* left them in Possession of *this* System, since they were commanded, under the Terror of the heaviest and severest Penalties, to abandon and desert it.

As *Moses* commanded that no Addition should be made to his written Institutes, he did, in Effect, command his People to reject and discard all other Systems of their own procuring or inventing. The *Deists* then can assign them no previous Religion, in the Possession of which they can allow them to have been left by *Moses*.

These Gentlemen therefore, can argue only upon the Supposition, that the *Israelites* had no Religion but that given them by *Moses*.

So that, of necessity, the *Deists* must allow, there was a great and essential Difference between *Moses*, and the other ancient Worthies, to whom they compare him. For where will they find a Law-giver, who established a Religion without the Doctrine of a future State? or where will they find a Founder of Religion, whose public Institutes were not supported on this Doctrine?

It is allowed then, by the *Deists*, that the *Jews* had no Religion, but that instituted by *Moses*. It is allowed too, that he made no mention of a future State in his religious System, and that he did not leave his People at Liberty to supply the Defect by any Invention of their own, since he expressly order'd that no Addition should be made to his written Institutes. So that, in Virtue of such an *Omission* and such a *Prohibition*, he put his Religion into a Situation, that would naturally disable it from receiving any Benefit or Advantage from the Doctrine of a future State. And how could he imagine, that a Religion, thus circumstanced, would be able to support itself, under the Administration of a *common* and *ordinary* Providence?

Come we now directly to the Dr. who, altho' he be too wise to be taught by his Adversary, may yet, without departing from his Dignity, condescend to receive his Thanks, which is here gratefully tendered to him, for his allowing or rather asserting every thing necessary to inforce the *second* Argument of the *Divine Legation*. He warmly and strenuously asserts, that the Sanctions of the Law were purely Temporal. He will allow Mr. *W.* therefore to take this Point for granted in his Dispute with the *Deists*. The Question then will be, How came *Moses* to deviate so far from the common and general Practice of the Ancients, as to establish a public and national Religion, which had not a future State for it's Sanction?

In order to relieve the Difficulty, the Dr. has recourse to the common Distinction between the Covenants made with *Abrabam*, one *Temporal*, and the other *Spiritual*. Now since *Moses* was the Minister of the first, we are told, he could not be commission'd to teach a future State, as this Province was reserved for the Minister of the *Spiritual*

ritual Covenant*. But as the *Deist* laughs at this Distinction, and denies the very Being and Reality of both these Covenants, *he* can make no possible use of the Doctor's Answer, to explain, why *Moses* did not make a future State the Sanction of his Religion.

When the Dr. talks therefore of "*Prior Revelations* subsisting among the Patriarchs and "*their Posterity from Adam down to the Time of Moses,*" † in order to evade the Argument of the *D. L.* he seems to leave his good Allies, the *Deists*, in the Lurch. For he shews us, that there is no accounting for the Conduct of the Hebrew Lawgiver, without allowing the Reality of the *two Covenants, Temporal and Spiritual* (an Argument which, as I am credibly informed, Mr. *W.* has enforced and explained at large in the unpublished Volume of the *Divine Legation*) and what does the allowing this amount to, but a Confession of the Truth of Revelation; the Point, to which it was Mr. *W.*'s purpose, in writing the *Divine Legation*, to bring Unbelievers of all Denominations. At present, as it is so *ingeniously* urg'd by Dr. STEBBING, to confute the Argument of the *Divine Legation*, I apprehend they will not be much inclined to espouse it; whatever they may be hereafter forced to do, in satisfaction of their Professions of the *Love of Truth*, when it is shewn them that there is no other way of accounting for the *Omission* but by bringing in the *Revelation-System*.

Here then the Doctor should have made a *Separation of Wisdom*; should have *distinguished* between the *Deists* and *himself*: And have assigned the former no Principles, but such as are consistent with their

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* Examination, p. 35, &c.

† History of *Abraham*, p. 75.

Character: Let him take them under his Protection, let him give them his Assistance, let him supply them with new Arguments, or point their old ones with new Force; in short, let him allow them to make what EXPERIMENTS they please, in order to elude the Argument of the *D. L.* In this I can bear with him. All I demand is, that he should make his *Deists* talk like *Deists*; and not assign them such Principles, as make them *Christians* before their time.

It is their Business to explain, why *Moses* shew'd himself so indifferent and unconcerned in establishing a future State, and left his People to themselves to keep it as they could, without using the same Care to preserve it, which other Legislators did, who were in the same Situation and Circumstances. We say that this singular and extraordinary Conduct in *Moses* is inexplicable, but upon the Supposition that he acted by the *immediate Order and Appointment of God*. And so says the Dr. too, for all his huffing. For of whose Appointment, but God's, were the *two Covenants* he speaks of, temporal and spiritual?

For this learned Man, therefore, to maintain, that this is the proper way of accounting for the Absence and Omission of a future State in the *Mosaic* Institutes, is in effect confessing, that the *Deists* are not able, on their own Principles, to account for the *Omission*, and that, consequently, the Author of the *D. L.* has gained a perfect and complete Victory over his Adversaries.

Nothing, I apprehend, can do more Honour to Mr. *W.* or more Credit to his Argument, than this Evasion of the Dr.'s, which implies, that the Author of the *D. L.* by virtue of this *second* Argument, has drove and forced the *Deists* to acknowledge the Truth and Divinity both of the Law and the Gospel. For, according to the Dr.
nothing

nothing less than such an Acknowledgment, will enable any one to account for the Absence and Omission of a future State in the *Mosaic* Institutes.

But if the Dr. would do the *Deists* a substantial Service, he should prove, that the common Modes and Maxims of ancient Legislation and Wisdom, or the natural Suggestions of mere human Policy and Prudence, would lead *Moses* to establish a public and national Religion which had *not* the Doctrine of a future State. But this, I am afraid, he will never be able to do, having already owned, that there never was a State or civil Society without a public and established Religion; or an established Religion without a future State. A plain Confession, that the common Principles of ancient Legislation and Wisdom would naturally have led *Moses* to give his national Religion the Sanction of a future State.

The Sum then of the Argument amounts to this: The Dr. allows Mr. *W.* to have proved the Sanctions of the *Mosaic* Institutes to be purely *temporal*. —He allows too, that this Circumstance can be only accounted for and explained upon the Supposition that *Moses* was really commissioned and sent by God. Need we any more to see, that Mr. *W.* has proved the Divine Legation of *Moses* against the *Deist* or Unbeliever?

The Doctor observes, Mr. *Warburton's* Argument is intended for the Conviction of Unbelievers. (Exam. p. 66.) And he has now shewn, to purpose, that it is fitted to produce it's end. But this however was far from his purpose; he has, therefore (for the Consolation of his good Friends, the *Deists*) pointed out but two Methods of eluding it. The first is, a Supposition that the *Jews* were in Possession of the Doctrine of a future State, by virtue of some prior Revelations: The other is, that *Moses* had a previous

“ will be a *Plea* that an *extraordinary* Providence
 “ was necessary to supply the want of it; and that
 “ *Moses*, when he undertook the Government, was
 “ well assured, that he should be *extraordinarily*
 “ supported.” *

Would it so? Then, pray let him use the *Plea*,
 he has so well supported: For he seems to have
 shewn to a Demonstration, the body of the early
 Jews *in fact had not the Doctrine of a future State*.
 Not so fast, says the Dr. If this will content him,
 he is welcome to my Concession, *that Moses made*
no provision for a future State in the Law: but then
 let him take it along with him, that, “ If this is
 “ right reasoning, it will prove, so far as I can
 “ perceive, the Divine Legation of all the Sove-
 “ rign Princes in the World: For though the Doc-
 “ trine of a future State may be received in all Na-
 “ tions, and is received at least in all *civilized* Na-
 “ tions; it enters not into the *civil Constitution* of
 “ any. It is a general Principle which Government
 “ *presupposes*, and when any Religion is founded
 “ upon this Principle (as *some* always *must*) that
 “ Religion may be provided for by Laws. So it
 “ is in all Christian Countries, and so it was un-
 “ der *Moses's* Administration, who found the *Israe-*
 “ *lites* in possession of a *Religion*; to which if new
 “ external Rites were added, yet the *whole* stood
 “ upon the *old* Foundation, the Covenant which
 “ God had made with their Fathers, which I say
 “ (and which Mr. *W.* now *permits* me to say) was
 “ then understood as containing the hope of a fu-
 “ ture State. To what end then should *Moses* en-
 “ ter this Doctrine into the Body of his Laws,
 “ when it lay at the bottom of the common Religi-
 “ on then in use? or what Evidence can possibly ar-
 “ rise from its being not entred, to prove his Le-
 “ gation

* History of Abraham, p. 81.

"gation to be divine"? History of *Abraham*, p. 78, 79.

"If this is right reasoning it will prove, so far as I can perceive, the Divine Legation of all the Sovereign Princes in the World."

And so it would, if all those *Sovereign Princes* had acted as *Moses* did; that is, have instituted national Religions, (where every thing was minutely prescribed, and nothing to be added) which had not the Doctrine of a future State. He *supposes* therefore, and so, (on demand,) is obliged to *prove*, that there is not in the whole World any one public and national Religion, supported on the Sanction of a future State. A harder Task, I suppose, than what he requires of his Adversary, to prove, that the early Jews in fact had not the Doctrine of a future State.

"For tho' the Doctrine of a future State may be received in all Nations, and is received at least in all *civilized* Nations; it enters not into the civil Constitution of any."

Here he puts the Change upon Himself. His Argument required him to prove, that this Doctrine made no part of the *national Religions*; and he affirms, that it made no part of the *civil Institutions*.

He observes, that this Doctrine is received and entertained where it makes no part of the *political Constitution*. But if he would talk to the purpose, he should tell us of some Countries, where it is received and entertained without making any part of the public Religion. This would be a *Curiosity*; and nothing less, I can assure the Dr. will serve his purpose.

"It is a general Principle which Government *presupposes*; and when any Religion is founded upon this Principle (as *some* always *must*) that Religion may be provided for by Laws. So it is in all Christian Countries, and so it was under

"*Moses's*

“ *Moses's* Administration, who found the *Israelites* in Possession of a Religion, to which if new external Rites were added, yet the *whole* stood upon the old Foundation, the Covenant which God had made with their Fathers, which was then understood as containing the hope of another Life *.”

Here he argues upon the Supposition, that the *Israelites* were in Possession of a certain System of Religion, separate and distinct from that given by *Moses*. But this Supposition is not to be admitted in the present Argument, address'd to Deists and Unbelievers. For these Gentlemen can afford the *Israelites* no System of Religion besides that given by the *Law*. If therefore it can be proved, that *Moses* made no Provision for a future State in the
LAW,

* Were I disposed to pursue and explain the present Argument more at large, I have here a fair Opportunity to expose the several Contradictions and Inconsistencies that occur in the Dr.'s prosecution of his Hypothesis, and to lay open his System in all its Distress and Nakedness. It would be easy to prove, even on his own Reasoning, that the Revelation made to *Abraham*, containing the Promise of a future State, was so far from being consider'd by the *Israelites* in the Time of *Moses*, as the true Foundation and Support of their Religion, that they really had no idea or Memory of it. But I shall not concern myself with this at present, as I am only endeavouring to clear the *second* Argument of the *D. L.* from the several Objections that have been brought against it.

He tells us, that *the whole* and consequently the *Mosaic* Dispensation stood upon the old Foundation, or the Principle of a future State, contained in the *Abrahamic* Covenant. But how could the *Mosaic* Institutes stand upon this Principle, as their proper and real Foundation, unless future Rewards and Punishments were the Sanction of the Law? For the word *Foundation*, when used as something supporting a Religion, is a figurative Term, which signifies neither more nor less than *Sanction*. How then is this Assertion consistent with those Parts of the Doctor's *first* Pamphlet, in which he so plainly and explicitly declares, that *the Law had no Sanctions but what were purely temporal?*

LAW, the Deists must confess that he made no Provision for a future State at all.

Least of all will the Doctor's Supposition be admitted on this account, as it would oblige them likewise to confess a precise, exact, and circumstantial Prediction of the Gospel Covenant. For the Promise of a Redeemer made to *Abraham* is consider'd as the great Foundation and Support of this separate distinct System.

" To what End then should *Moses* enter this
 " Doctrine into the Body of his Laws, when it
 " lay at the Bottom of the common Religion then
 " in Use? or what Evidence can possibly arise from
 " its being not entred, to prove his Legation to
 " be divine?"

He fancies we see, it was needless for *Moses* to make a Provision for this Doctrine by entering it into his Institutes, because the People were already in Possession of it, by Virtue of the *Abrahamic* Covenant. But he forgets, that Mr. *W.* is arguing with the *Deists*, who believe nothing of an *Abrahamic* Covenant, but hold, that the Institutes of *Moses* made the entire *Sum* of the *Jewish* Religion. If therefore these Gentlemen will suppose that it was needless for *Moses* to make any Provision for this Doctrine in his Institutes, they must suppose too, he was well assured, he should be supported in an extraordinary Manner.

It is possible then that the Dr. himself by this time may see, how the Omission and Absence of a future State in the *Mosaic* Institutes, is a proper and sufficient Proof of the divine Mission of *Moses* against *Deists* and Unbelievers.

* In short, the Dr. with all his Diligence and Zeal, will never be able to teach the *Deists* how to prove that *Moses* made any Provision for the Doctrine of a future State. If they will suppose him to have
 done

done so, it must be either in his *Law* or his *History*. The Dr. himself asserts, that no Provision was made for it in the *Law*, and therefore deprives the *Deist* of all Advantages from this Quarter. In the *History* of *Moses*, indeed, some dark, intricate, and obscure Prophecies do occur, which are generally supposed by Believers, to contain the Promise of another Life. We learn there, that *the Seed of the Woman was to bruise the Serpent's Head*, and that all Mankind was to be blessed in one of the Descendants of *Abraham*. These indeed were real Predictions of the Gospel Covenant. But we say, the *Deists* will hardly, in mere complaisance, be disposed to say so too : And what else should dispose him, while he continues a *Deist*, I confess I cannot find out. But to return to the Dr.'s Observations on the present Argument.

“ If *Moses*, says Mr. *W.* would leave his People to keep a Doctrine as they could, so necessary and believed by him to be so necessary, under an ordinary Providence, to Religion and Society, we must needs conclude, he was well assured, that his Institution could do without it ; or, in other Words, that the Defect would be supplied by an extraordinary Providence.” Remarks, p. 140.

To this the Dr. replies, “ What is this *leaving the People to keep AS THEY COULD*? If it means any thing, it must be, that unless *Moses* had entered the Doctrine of a future State into the Body of his Laws, there would have been great Danger of its being *lost* among the *Jews* ; which is just as good Sense as if I should say, that because this Doctrine is not entered in *Magna Charta*, or in the *Statutes* of the Realm, therefore there is Danger of its being lost among the People of *England*. The Doctrine of a future

“ State cannot be lost in *England*, or any where
 “ else, so long as *Christianity* is preserved ; and
 “ for this the civil Laws of all Christian Coun-
 “ tries make Provision. In like Manner, suppo-
 “ sing the *Jews* to have believed the Doctrine of
 “ a future State when *Moses* came, as being con-
 “ tained in the Religion then received and deli-
 “ vered down to them from their Forefathers ; it
 “ was impossible they should lose that Doctrine
 “ whilst they preserved their Religion, and the
 “ Preservation of this was the grand Design of
 “ *Moses’s* whole Oeconomy. It is therefore a
 “ ridiculous Inference to say, that because *Moses*
 “ did not enter this Doctrine into the Body of his
 “ Laws, therefore he was well assured, that his
 “ Institution would do *without* it ; or that there
 “ could be any such *Defect* (so far as this Doctrine
 “ would be of use to him) as would want to be
 “ supplied by the Administration of an extraordi-
 “ nary Providence.” History of *Abraham*, p.
 80, 81.

What he says, is this (and he says it with a clear-
 ness that cannot be mistaken ; and with a confidence
 as if it could not be confuted) that the Doctrine of
 a future State would have run no Danger or Hazard
 of being lost, or would have continued to ope-
 rate with a proper Degree of Influence and Force,
 notwithstanding it had made no Part of the civil or
 political Constitution of the *Jews* ; just as the same
 Doctrine subsists here in *England*, although it is
 not entered into the *Magna Charta*, or the Statutes
 of the Realm.—But would he put the Case hon-
 estly, that is, as it stands in fact, he should have
 brought an Example, not from *England*, where
 no such example is to be found, but from some o-
 ther Country, where a future State made no Part
 either of the civil Constitution, or of the public
 and

and national Religion. For it has been observed, that the LAW of *Moses* contained the public and national Religion, as well as the political and civil Constitution of the *Jewish* People. The Dr. then must tell us, whether he supposes, that the Notion of a future State would be able to subsist and operate with a proper Degree of Force in *England*, tho' it made no Part either of the civil Constitution, or of the public and national Religion.

“ Supposing the *Jews* to have believed the Doctrine of a future State when *Moses* came, as “ being contained in the *Religion then received and delivered down to them from their Forefathers*, “ &c.” Here he speaks of the *Abrahamic* Covenant, and therefore speaks nothing to the Purpose, since he only offers such Assistance to the *Deists*, as the *Deists* will not be ready to accept.

“ It is therefore a ridiculous Inference to say, “ that because *Moses* did not enter this Doctrine “ into the Body of his Laws, therefore he was “ well assured, that his Institution would do *without* “ it, or that there *could* be any such *Defect* as “ would want to be *supplied* by the Administration “ of an extraordinary Providence.”

But can the *Deists*, even when befriended and seconded by the Dr. himself, give any consistent and reasonable Account of this Omission, without supposing that *Moses* had a previous Assurance and Belief, that he should be supported in an extraordinary Manner?

If they cannot, what is there *ridiculous* in this Matter but in the Doctor's Reflections upon it?

The *Deists* are called upon to account for the Absence and Omission of a future State in the *Mosaic* Institutes; and the Dr. has recourse to the *Abrahamic* Covenant, to relieve the Difficulty. Now is not this *ridiculous*, to assign his Friends such

Principles, as their Character will not suffer them to make use of*? He will say, then, let those use

* The Dr. had said, that "the Law of *Moses* made no provision for a future State. If this Principle is all you want, it will stand."

To this Mr. *W.* replies, "What the Connexion of a long Chain of reasoning hindered him from seeing, I hope this short *View* will bring to light. And that the *second Syllogism* will inform him, that WHAT HE Grants is all I want. For if *Moses* would leave his People to get or keep a Doctrine as they could, so necessary, and believed by him to be so necessary, under an ordinary Providence, to Religion and Society, we must needs conclude, he was well assured that his Institution could do without it; or, in other Words, that the Defect would be supplied by the Administration of an extraordinary Providence."

What he observes here is, that this single Concession is all that is necessary to establish the Argument of the *D. L.*

But then you see he means the Argument contained in the *second Syllogism*; — "the *second Syllogism* will inform him, that what he grants is all I want."

Yet the Dr. complains, "that his Adversary would change and shift the Question. For that his original Argument required him to prove that the *Jews* had no Knowledge of a future State, whereas he now pretends that he need prove no more, than that it had no place in the Law, or that the Concession of its Absence and Omission in the *Mosaic* Institutes, is sufficient to establish and confirm his Argument."

His original Argument consisted of two *Syllogisms*, each of them a proper, distinct and independent Proof of the Mission of *Moses*. On the Doctor's telling him that "The Law of *Moses* made no Provision for a future State, and that therefore if this Principle was all he wanted, it would stand;" Mr. *W.* replies, that it is all he wants to support the *second Syllogism*, the Establishment of which evinces the divine Legation of *Moses*. And this his most acute Adversary calls changing and shifting the Question.

The Foundation of Mr. *W.*'s first Argument is, that the *Jews* had no knowledge of a future State.

The Foundation of his second is, that *Moses* instituted a public and national Religion which was not supported on this Sanction.

Now the Doctor's Concession, that *Moses* made no provision for a future State in his Religious Institutes, is all that is wanting to establish and support this *second Argument*. As

use them, who can. Why, in good truth, he has my Leave, and, I dare say, Mr. Warburton's;

As our Author had said, that this Concession was sufficient for his Purpose, the Dr. in his *State of the Argument* would infer, that he is disposed to abandon and give up this *first* Argument. Suppose the Dr. found it convenient to prove that he was legally possessed of his Arch-deaconry; Does this imply he was ready to give up his Chancellorship? Why should accumulative Arguments be thought less necessary than accumulative Dignities?

P. 77. 78. Having repeated Mr. W.'s *first* Syllogism, he adds, "since then, in the Author's own account, his Argument requires him to say, that the *Jews* in *Moses's* time *did not believe* a future State; it is absurd and contradictory to affirm, that it will be secured by the single Supposition, that the Doctrine of a future State was no *constituent Part* of the Law of *Moses*." Here the Dr. was plainly at a Fault by not being able to distinguish between Mr. W.'s *first* and *second* Argument. The *one* does indeed require him to say, that the *Jews* had *not* this Doctrine: The bare Concession that this Doctrine is no *constituent Part* of the Law is all that is necessary to establish the *other*.

The Dr. is quite amazed, that any one should think this Concession sufficient to evince the Mission of *Moses*. "If this is the Case, I will give up the *Examination* as one entire *Impertinency*, for which, however, there will be this excuse, that it is only *one* Impertinency for *another*. For as this *latter* Point is the whole Subject of the *Examination*; so it makes the principal Figure in the second Part of the second Volume of the *D. L.* But to what purpose (one may reasonably ask) was it ever mentioned if it had nothing to do with the Argument?" p. 76.

Here then let us take him at his Word; he must either give up the *whole Examination* as one entire *Impertinency*, or enable the *Deists* to account for the Absence and Omission of a future State, in the national and established Religion of the *Jews*, without supposing the Divine Legation of *Moses*.

"Why was this latter Point (viz. that the *Jews* had no Knowledge of a future State) even mentioned, if it had nothing to do with the Argument?"

It was properly and pertinently mention'd in the *D. L.* as it had to do with the *first* Argument, or was indeed its main Foundation and Support. How weak and confident is it to affirm, that a Principle is impertinently alledged, or does

ton's; because whoever clears the Difficulty by the *Abrahamic* Covenant, must own *that* Covenant, and

not contribute to the support of *one* Argument, purely because it has nothing to do with *another*?

The Dr. has made no scruple to charge the Author of the *D. L.* with a Design to abandon his *first Point*, and discharge it his Service; as no longer disposed to assert and maintain, that the *Jews* had not the Knowledge of a future State. History of *Abraham*, p. 77.

It is hardly credible, that a Writer, who had the least regard for his Character, should allow himself in so gross a Misrepresentation. For Mr. *W.* has been so far from giving up this Point, that he asserts it in these very *Remarks* in as plain, positive, and direct terms, as in the *D. L.* itself; not only vindicates several Arguments alledged by him *before*, but produces *new* ones, in Confirmation of it. I will select a few Instances. "We are expressly told that the *Jews* all their *life Time* were through fear of Death subject to Bondage, " which certainly can imply no less, than *That they had no future State* to secure them from this Fear." p. 162.

" In this State, says the same Apostle, they were shut up unto *the Faith*, which should afterwards be revealed. Till that time therefore, it appears that the Body of the *Jews* had no Knowledge of this *Faith*; one of the essential Articles of which is *life Everlasting*. " This we must needs have concluded, even though he had not said that till that Time they were in Bondage under the Elements of the World. A proper Character truly of a People acquainted with the revealed Doctrine of *Life and Immortality*. p. 160.

Is this the Language of a Man eager to discharge this Principle from his Service, and no longer willing to assert that the *Jews* had no Knowledge of a future State? Has he not here offer'd two *additional* and *fresh* Arguments to support it?

We are told that our Saviour brought *Life and Immortality to Light by the Gospel*. The true meaning of these Words, according to Mr. *W.* is, " that this was the first Time of a future State's being revealed by God, either to the *Jewish* People as a Nation, or to Mankind in general. The sacred Writer did not deign to call that, *bringing to light*, which was hatched in the Bosom of Superstition, and soon became polluted, with a thousand Fables in passing thro' the impure hands of System-making *Jews* and *Gentiles*. " From whence I reasonably concluded says he, that it was never taught

and consequently *Revelation*, which is all Mr. *W.* wants to bring those to, who doubt of its Truth.

Let us now take a Review of this part of the Controversy, as it stands between the Author of the *D. L.* and the Doctor. The Points affirmed by Mr. *W.* are, 1. That there was a great and considerable Difference between *Moses* and the other Founders of States and Religions in the antient

“taught by God to the *Jewish* People throughout the period in Question. What was taught by Man is another Thing, and entirely out of the Question.” p. 134. Now what was the Design of this Passage, but to shew that the more early *Jews* had not the revealed Doctrine of a future State? And this by vindicating the sacred Authority, which he had before produced for this purpose.

P. 158. Mr. *W.* observes, that certain Texts in the Old Testament convey the Doctrine of a future State only in the secondary or spiritual Sense; and he observes withal, that this secondary or spiritual Sense was not known to the then People.—This Argument had been before alledged in the *D. L.* to prove that the *Jews* had not the Doctrine of a future State. It was proper to repeat it, since the Dr. had not endeavour'd to confute, or even ventured to mention it.—He may not perhaps be yet conscious, that he himself has laid down such Principles as directly tend to establish and confirm it in all its Parts.

But all I have to do with him at present is to ask, why he did not, in his *State of the Argument*, take the least Notice of the Passages just produced? It did not surely become an ingenuous Disputant, to pass over in silence so many Arguments which relate to the main point in Debate: Especially, as any single one, if allowed its full Force, (and the Dr. by his Silence admits every one of them in its full Force) will serve to establish the main Point in Dispute, or prove that the *Jews* had not the knowledge of a future State.

But here I must do the Dr. the Justice to observe, that he has not been singular in this Case, or more disingenuous than the rest of his Fellow-Labourers. All of them (for Reasons too obvious to need explaining) have omitted to take the least notice of the several Arguments contained in the Passages just quoted.

The Dr. indeed has gone beyond the rest in this, that he alone has had the Courage to affirm, that Mr. *W.* disclaimed and discarded the Doctrine here delivered, which, in other Words, is, Mr. *W.* did never write the Passages cited above.

World, as he only ventur'd to establish a public and national Religion, which was not supported on the Doctrine of a future State. 2. That this Difference is of itself a proper and sufficient Proof of the Divine Legation of *Moses*.

Here we must do the Dr. the Justice to confess that he knew, what he often mistakes, the true Way of confuting this Reasoning; which is to prove, that there was no real Difference between *Moses* and the other Founders of States and Religions in the ancient World; and, without doubt, he would have done what he saw was no necessary to do, had he been able, and would have confronted his Adversary with some Instances of public and national Religions in the Pagan World, which were not established on the Sanction of a *future State*. However, he hath done his best, and what was more in Character; he hath kept on changing and shifting his Question; and, indeed, made an Effort to shew that this Doctrine is not contained in the *political* and *civil* Institutes of other Countries.

The Weakness and Impertinence of this Evasion, which turns on a Quibble on the Word *Law*, hath been sufficiently exposed.

However, conscious, as it were, that all this was nothing to the Purpose, he now proceeds to invert his Method of Attack. And as he could not prove that the other Lawgivers had made the same *Omission* with *Moses*, he now addresses himself to shew, that *Moses* made as proper and effectual a Provision for the Doctrine of a future State as they have done. And here he tells us, that the great End and Design of the *Jewish* Dispensation, was to preserve the Memory of the Revelation made to *Abraham*, which Revelation contained the Promise of the Redemption of Mankind by the Son of God.

His

His *Premisses* failed him in the former Argument, and here, his *Conclusion* gives him the Slip. He forgets, that the *Deists* believe nothing of this Promise to *Abraham*, they suppose the *Jews* to have had no System of Religion besides that of *Moses*. And they, I can assure him, are not so apt to forget their own Principles, as the Doctor is to mistake his: Or, if they were, we must make them stick to them till they be forced from them; and then let the Doctor help them again as soon as he thinks convenient.

The *first* Point asserted by Mr. *W.* was, that there was a great and considerable Difference between *Moses* and all the other Founders of States and Religions in the antient World, as *he* only established a public and national Religion *without* the Doctrine of a future State. Now this Difference seems to remain as great at present, since the writing the Doctor's *two* Pamphlets, as it did before.

The second Point was, that this Difference could not be accounted for, without supposing the divine Mission of *Moses*. The Doctor will account for it *without*; and well and ably has he performed his Talk. He *shews* (or rather *observes* what somebody else was so good to *shew* him) that MOSES WAS APPOINTED MINISTER OF THE TEMPORAL COVENANT ONLY. Here he is properly triumphant. Let the Schools re-eccho his Victory.

But various are the Ways which Christian Writers have projected to draw the Deists out of those Difficulties into which this Argument of the *Divine Legation* has thrown them.

A late writer has undertaken to account for the Absence and Omission of a future State in the *Mosaic* Institutes in the following manner. "It may
" be proper to mention the Reason, why the Im-

“ mortality of the Soul, and the Rewards and Punishments of a future State, are rather supposed and implied in the Law of *Moses*, than directly asserted and revealed. And one Reason of this might be, *that these Things were not controverted and denied in those early Ages.*

“ But, besides this, it is to be observed, that as the Law of *Moses* was immediately directed to the whole People of *Israel*, consider’d as a Nation or Community ; so the Sanctions of that Law, or the promises and threatnings whereby Obedience to it were enforced, were suited to the nature and circumstances of a Community, and therefore could only be of a temporal Nature ; for indeed Communities subsist only in this Life, and consequently are capable only of temporal Rewards and Punishments.” *A Critical and practical Exposition of the Pentateuch*, Printed in 1748. p. 450.*

“ One Reason of this might be, that these Things were not controverted and denied in those early Ages.”

This ingenious Author here goes upon the Supposition, that *Moses* might safely leave this Doctrine to shift for itself, or need make no particular Provision for it, since it was a general and received Notion among the *Israelites* at that Time. Now as the Weight and Force of this Observation have been fully considered in the Answer to one of the foregoing Objections, I shall say nothing more to it in this Place.

His second Solution is, “ that the Law of *Moses* was directed to the whole People ; so the Sancti-

* In order to strengthen and confirm this Reasoning, he refers us to Mr. *Leland*. p. 52. V. 1.

See too Bishop *Burnet*. Article 7. p. 97.

“ ons were suited to a Community which subsists
“ only in this Life.”

I desire to know what national Law was *not* directed to a *whole People* ? As to *Sanctions being suited to a Community*, this is nothing to the Purpose. It is readily allowed that *temporal Sanctions* are so. The Question here is, whether the Sanctions of the *Jewish Law* are not as well, and as frequently addressed to *Particulars* as to the Nation in general ? If they be, this Solution has nothing in it. And to deny they are, is contradicting our Senses. I am ashamed to be particular in so plain a Case ; but when such Reasoning is obtruded on the Public, there is no Remedy.

“ Cursed is *every one* that continueth not in all
“ Things which are written in the Book of the
“ Law to do them.” *Galat. iii. 10. Deut. xxvii.*
26.* If

* It seems to be the Opinion of some very judicious and learned Writers, that God himself interposed to punish such Transgressions, as escaped the Notice of the Judges, or were connived at by them.

Lex de singulis dicit morte moriatur, nempe deo ipso mortem infligendo. Si cessarent aut rem ignorarent iudices, Grotius. Romans v. 13.

Deus, si iudices peccata non punirent, se vindicem erat professus, Levit. xx. 3, 5. Vindicta autem erat mors ipsius qui deliquisset immatura & sine prole. Grotius on Isaiah xlv. 20.

The learned *Limborch*, speaking of the Sanctions of the Law, says,——*Fuit mors, eaque vel violenta a Magistratu, vel misera ac immatura a deo ipso infligenda. Theologia Christiana, l. 308. Sect. 30. Ed. 2.*

The excellent Bishop *Patrick*, in his Comment on the Pentateuch, often affirms, that such Sinners as escaped unpunished by the Judges, were to suffer by the immediate Hand and Stroke of Providence. *Deut. xxvii. 15.* Speaking of the Person here *cursed*, he says, “ Though he was not a public declared
“ Worshipper of Images ; yet, if he did it *privately* in some
“ Closet of his House, or in any other secret Place to conceal
“ his Wickedness ; *though he escaped the Punishment of the Law,*
“ which sentenced open Idolaters to death, yet he would not
“ escape the Vengeance of God.”

Leviticus

If the CURSES of the Law relate to *every one*, and not to the *Community*, they must relate to *Particulars* and *Individuals* : Why therefore might not these Curses extend to the next Life ?

“ Ye shall keep my Statutes and my Judgments ; which if a *Man* do, *he* shall live in them.” *Levit. xviii. 5.*

* If the *Man* who kept these Statutes and Judgments was to live in them, the BLESSINGS promised by the Law must relate to Particulars and Individuals ; Why therefore might they not extend to another Life ?

The Expositor himself, in the Beginning of his Note on this Verse, has the following Words :
 “ Which if a *Man* do, *he* shall live by them ; instead of being cut off by an untimely Death, either by the Magistrate, or by God himself, as is threatened to the Transgressors of these Laws, Ver. 29. He shall live quietly in the Enjoyment of all the temporal Blessings, which God promised in his Covenant with the *Jews*.” This is his *Exposition* of the Text ; and yet it is in his *Note* upon it, that

Leviticus xix. 8. That Soul shall be cut off from the People
 “ By the Judges, if the Thing was known ; otherwise by the Hand of God,”

xvii. 4. *That Man shall be cut off from among his People*
 “ The Meaning either is, that the Magistrate should pass the Sentence of Death upon him, or God would destroy him himself. The latter Sense is most probable, because he threatens (v. 10.) to execute Vengeance with his own Hand upon him that was guilty of eating Blood.”

* *Hoc autem vult deus, immatura morte aut a Magistratibus, aut ab ipso deo eum sublatum non iri, qui legum observans futurus esset.* Le Clerc.

Sed qui fecerit ea homo vivet in illis) *id est*, vitam hic habebit felicem. *Levit. xviii. 5. Nam vivere Hebræis sæpe est, felicitate vivere, mors misere.* Grotius—*Galat. iii. 12.*

He is thy Life, and the Length of thy Days. *Deut. xxx. 20.*
 “ The Author and Giver of Life, which he preserves and prolongs unto those who are obedient.” *Patrick.*

he

he affirms, *the Sanctions of the Law did not extend to Individuals.*

“ But with him that standeth here with us this
“ Day before the Lord our God, and also with him
“ that is not here with us this Day :

“ Left there should be amongst you *Man*, or
“ *Woman*, or Family, or Tribe, whose Heart
“ turneth away this Day from the Lord our God,
“ to go and serve the Gods of these Nations ; left
“ there should be among you a Root that beareth
“ Gall and Wormwood ;

“ And it come to pass, when he heareth the
“ Words of this Curse, that he blefs himself in his
“ Heart, saying, I shall have Peace, though I walk
“ in the Imagination of my Heart, to add Drunkenness to Thirst.

“ The Lord will not spare *him*, but the Anger of
“ the Lord, and his Jealousy, shall smite against
“ *that Man*, and all the Curses that are written in
“ this Book shall lie upon *him*, and the Lord shall
“ blot out *his Name* from under Heaven.

“ And the Lord shall *separate him* unto Evil, out
“ of all the Tribes of *Israel*, according to all the
“ Curses of the Covenant, that are written in this
“ Book of the Law.” *Deut. xxix. 18, &c.*

* Here, it is plainly declared, that Transgressors
should be *separated and singled out* from the rest, and
signed to the several Punishments denounced and
threatened by the Law.

“ *Whosoever* he be, of the Children of *Israel*, that
“ giveth any of his Seed unto *Molech*, he shall
“ surely be put to death ; the People of the
“ Land shall stone him with Stones.

* *Ver. 21.* “ Though he offended *never so secretly*, God
“ threatens to make him a *public* and *notorious* Example of
“ his Vengeance to all the People of *Israel.*” *Patrick.*

“ And I will set my Face against that Man, and
“ will cut him off from among his People.—

“ And if the People of the Land do any Ways
“ hide their Eyes from the Man, when he giv-
“ eth of his Seed unto *Molech*, and kill him
“ not;

“ Then I will set my Face against *that Man*,
“ and against his Family, and will cut *him* off,
“ and all that go a whoring after him, to commit
“ Whoredom with *Molech*, from among their Peo-
“ ple.” *Levit. xx. 2, 3, 4, 5.**

According to some able Commentators, God was likewise to interpose, in the same Circumstances, in order to punish and chastise such *Particulars* and *Individuals* as were guilty of the Crimes mentioned in the next Verse. “ And the Soul that turneth
“ after such as have familiar Spirits, and after
“ Wizards, to go a whoring after them, I will
“ even set my Face against *that Soul*, and will cut
“ *him* off from among his People.” v. 6. †

“ *Whosoever*

* *Grotius* upon v. 30, says, *Id est si res ad judices non deven-
nerit, aut judices neglexerint, ego puniam per mortem imma-
turam.*

And he supposed that Transgressors were to be punished by a *special Providence* in other Cases as well as that here speci-
fied. This appears from the two Passages above cited.

Le Clerc upon the Place says, *hæc videntur intelligenda de
peccato ignoto, aut cujus ille convinci nequeat.*

*Si hoc ejus facinus popularibus ejus ignotum sit, ne tamen prop-
terea impune se abiturum esse sperato; ego enim eum e medio
tollam.*

† “ In like Manner all Kinds of Sorcery, Witchcraft, and
“ diabolical Conjurations, are made Crimes of the same capi-
“ tal Nature, and obnoxious to the same Punishment.” *Pyle.*

*Quicumque sagas aut hariosos—Consuluerit, & eorum idololatriâ
se inquinaverit; cum similes mihi pœnas, quamvis vindictam ho-
minum effugerit, daturum esse scito.* *Le Clerc.*

Grotius referring to this Chapter, says, *eodem in capite quæ-
dam, per suffusionem, id est, incendio puniuntur, quædam per
pœnam*

“ *Whosoever* shall commit any of these Abominations, *even the Souls that commit them* shall be cut off from among their People.” *Levit. xviii.*

29. *

The Author of the Exposition above-mentioned tells us, “ That these Transgressors are here threatened with being cut off by an untimely Death, either by the Magistrates, or by *God himself.*”

v. 5.

“ *Whatsoever* Man there be of the House of *Israel*, or of the Strangers that sojourn among you, that eateth any Manner of Blood; I will even set my Face against *that Soul* that eateth Blood, and will cut *him* off from among his People.” *Levit. xvii. 10. †*

The Author of the Exposition here makes the following Observation. “ When this was done publicly, *the Person* was to be punished by the civil Magistrate; if done secretly, *he* is threatened to be punished by *God himself.*”

Moses said to God, “ Yet now, if thou wilt forgive their Sin; and if not, blot me, I pray thee, out of thy Book, which thou hast written.”

pœnam divinitus infligendam, si res lateat; sin manifesta sit res, & monitio præcesserit, per verbera. John viii. 5.

* “ The Multitude of the Offenders shall not keep off the Punishment, but they shall suffer by the Hand of the Judges, or by the Hand of God, if they neglect their Duty.” *Patrick.*

† *I will set my Face against that Soul;*) “ *i. e.* be extremely angry with him, and severely punish him, by cutting him off (as it here follows) from the Body of the Nation.” *Patrick.*

Capite pœnas luito, si hoc resciscatur; sin vero, pœnam divinitus immittendam expectato. Le Clerc.

“ And

“ And the Lord said unto *Moses*, *whofoever* hath
 “ sinned against me, *him* will I blot out of my
 “ Book.” *Exod.* xxxii. 32, 33.* Here again is a clear
 and undeniable Proof, that the Sanctions of the Law
 extend to Particulars and Individuals : For it is de-
 clared, that *every one*, who sinned against God,
 should be blotted out of the Book of Life.

“ Thou shalt not take the Name of the Lord
 “ thy God in vain ; for the Lord will not hold
 “ *him* guiltless that taketh his Name in vain.
 “ *Exod.* xx. 7.”

“ Will not hold him *guiltless* ; that is, will cer-
 “ *tainly* and *severely* punish him.” *Clarke’s* Serm.
 v. 8. p. 86.

“ If Men (says Bishop *Patrick*) did not punish
 “ the false Swearer, the *Lord* threatens that *HE*
 “ will.”—

“ Ye shall keep the Sabbath, for it is holy unto
 “ you. *Every one* that defileth it shall surely be
 “ put to death ; for *whofoever* doth any Work
 “ therein, *that Soul* shall be cut off from amongst
 “ his People.” *Exod.* xxxi. 14.†

No Comment will be necessary to shew, that a
 Punishment is here denouncd against Particulars
 and Individuals.

* “ *He* that sins shall die.” *Kidder* in Loc..

† “ God seems to threaten that *he himself* would shorten his
 “ Days, if the Judges, for Want of Witnesses, could not punish
 “ him.”

“ Him that *secretly* broke the Sabbath, the Scripture threatens
 “ with cutting off, viz. *by the Hand of God*, according to what
 “ is written here in this Place.” *Patrick*.

“ He that proudly and wittingly did work on the Sabbath
 “ was liable to be cut off ; i. e. *to perish by the Hand of God*,”
Kidder.

“ *What-*

" *Whatsoever* Soul it be that shall not be afflicted
 " in that same Day, he shall be cut off from a-
 " mong his People. And *whatsoever* Soul it be
 " that doth any Work that same Day, the *same*
 " Soul will I destroy from among his People."
*Levit. xxiii. 29, 30. **

These Words so plainly relate to Particulars
 and Individuals, that I will not hazard the ob-
 scuring of them by any farther Observation of
 my own.†

" Honour

* " They who transgressed either of these Commands
 " are threatened to be cut off, and that *by God himself*,
 " as this Verse teaches us to expound the foregoing." *Pa-
 trick.*

† Some late Writers have endeavoured to persuade us, that
 extraordinary Interpositions were not more usual and frequent
 under the Law formerly, than they are now under the Gospel;
 for that God left the Sanctions of the Law to be administered
 and dispensed by the Judges, without interfering himself to
 reward those that observed, or to punish those who neglect-
 ed it.

This seems to be a very partial and unfair Representation of
 the Scripture Doctrine on this Subject.

Deut. xxix. God assures us, that he *himself* would *separate*
 and *single out* the Infringers of the Law, and with his *own*
Hand would inflict upon them the *several Curses* mentioned in
 the Covenant.

Levit. xx. We are assured here, that those who gave their
 Seed unto *Molech*, or consulted Wizards and familiar Spirits,
 should be taken off by a *special Stroke of Providence*, if the Judges
 were either not able, or not inclined to punish them.

Now is it reasonable, or even decent to imagine, that God
 failed to interpose in the particular Causes here specified, after
 such plain and positive Declarations from *himself* that he actually
 would do so?

In *several* of the Texts above quoted we are told, that God
himself would destroy and *cut off* the particular Persons who
 transgressed the Laws there enforced. — But what Truth or
 Sense

“ Honour thy Father and thy Mother, as the
 “ Lord thy God hath commanded thee, *that thy*
“ Days

Sense could there be in such Declarations, unless you suppose that God himself intervened to inflict the Punishment here threatened, when the Judges either did not or could not do it ?

“ *Cut off*: This cutting off seems to imply, at least, an untimely Death, (*Exod. xxxi. 14.*) and a Punishment generally “ *inflicted by God’s Hand*, rather than that of the Magistrate.” *Levit. xvii. 10 and xx. 5. Kidder on Genesis. xvii.*

I would here desire the Reader to recollect, that such Declarations, or the Penalty of *being cut off*, are annexed to many Precepts ; the Consequence of which is, that divine Interpositions were often threatened.

It has been observed, that some of our most eminent and able Writers, in their Interpretations of the particular Texts above-mention’d, have affirmed, that God had engaged and threatened to interpose and execute the Penalty of the Law on Transgressors, when either the Ignorance or Partiality of the Judges would have suffered them to escape with Impunity.

Numb. xix. 20. “ But the Man that shall be unclean, and “ shall not purify himself, *that Soul shall be cut off from among* “ the Congregation.” *Excindetur) si hoc, nimirum, Magistratibus innotescat, si tamen non innotuit hominibus, deum legum suarum vindicem timere hunc oportebat. Le Clerc. Levit. viii. 35.* “ Therefore shall ye abide at the Door of the Tabernacle “ of the Congregation, *that ye die not.*” *Subita enim morte deus ultus esset sui contemptum; cujus rei exemplum habemus. C. 10.*

Deut. xxvii. 15, &c. Certain Curses are pronounced upon several Sorts of Sinners : And here our Author tells us, that these Curses are aimed and directed only against *private* and *bidden* Crimes,, or such as escaped the Notice of the Judges.* And what but a divine Interposition could be sufficient to execute these Curses in the Circumstances here supposed ?

The last Curse is denounced against “ *every one* who continued not in *all* Things that are written in the Law.” Now if a Curse was to be inflicted on the private Transgressors of the several Precepts of the Law, must not a divine Interposition have been often made ?

* See Clerc in Loc.

Bishop

"Days may be prolonged, and that it may go well
 "with thee, in the Land which the Lord thy God
 "giveth thee." Deut. v. 16.

"God was pleased to promise to reward the Per-
 "formance of this Duty with many Instances of tem-
 "poral Blessings, and to answer the pious Prayers
 "and Blessings of such Parents upon such dutiful
 "Children, in prolonging their Lives and advancing
 "their Prosperity, even in this World." Pyle. Exod.
 xx. 12. The

I here quote *Le Clerc*, because he is a Writer who cannot be charged with Credulity or Superstition, or a Fondness for ascribing more to the Scripture, than is really found in it.

Mr. Pyle tells us, that God himself had threatened to interpose, if certain Offenders escaped all human Punishment. Exod. xxiii. 7. that others might expect "the severest Punishment from the immediate Hand and Stroke of Providence." xxviii. 34, 35, 43. xxx. 21. xxxii. 3. Levit. xx. 3, 4, 5, 6. Deuter. xxix, 18, 19, 20.—He declares, that God would fix a Curse upon others, by either making them barren, or depriving them of their Children. xx. 19, 20.

He affirms too, with *Episcopius*, *Grotius*, *Patrick*, *Kidder*, &c. that the Leprosy among the Jews was a special Stroke of the Hand of God, supernaturally inflicted upon the Transgressors of the Law. Levit. xiv. 34.

The late Dr. Clarke tells us, that, "In the whole Book of Psalms, the Wicked are perpetually threatened with being cut off before their Time." Sermon v. 2. p. 158. Now if he supposed after this, that the Wicked were not generally cut off before their Time, would he not have furnished the Deists with very strong and substantial Objections to the Authority of these Psalms?

Grotius affirms, that grievous and violent Diseases, early and immature Deaths, Want or Loss of Children, were Punishments threatened to those Particulars and Individuals that transgressed and disobeyed the Law. (*Notes on the Old and New Test.* passim.)

He says too, that God himself engaged to exact the Penalties denounced by the Law, when the Judges either did not or could not do it. And could he afterwards suppose, that God did not interfere for this Purpose, without giving up the Truth and Authority of the Law?

The same Kind of Reasoning may be applied to *Patrick*, *Kidder*, *Le Clerc*, and *Pyle*, who all assert, that God had declared he himself would inflict the Penalties of the Law, when Transgressors escaped the Animadversion of the Judges. Bu

Barrow, in his Exposition of this Commandment, says, " So God expressly promiseth to
 " bless dutiful Children with a *long Life* in the
 " comfortable Possession of those good Things
 " which he should bestow upon them: This was
 " the most of Reward, explicitly covenanted to the
 " *Jews*, in regard to their Obedience. There is
 " also implied a Commination of a contrary Curse
 " from God upon the Infringers of this Law, that
 " they should either be *immaturely cut off from Life*,
 " (as *Abimelech* and *Absalom* were upon this Score)
 " or should draw on a wretched Life in Banishment
 " from the Contents thereof.

" I find the same Reward assigned to the diligent Observers of *other Duties*, particularly to
 " them who are just in their Dealings; to them
 " who are charitable to the Poor; to them who
 " are meek and patient; to them who confide in
 " God; and to all good Men who obey God's
 " Commandments." *Deut.* xvi. 20. *Psalms* xxxvii. 9, 11, 29. xxxiv. 12, 13, 16. *Proverbs* viii. 16. *Deut.* xxvi. 15. *V. 1. p.* 532. *Ed.* 1683.

The Promise of a long Life was plainly and expressly made to *Solomon*, upon Condition that he would observe and obey the Law. " If thou wilt
 " walk in my Ways, to keep my Statutes and

But here I would not say, (nor do I know any body that does) that the Infringers of the Law were punished in every Instance, *without Exception*, or that no one Individual escaped either the Animadversion of the Judges or the Hand of Providence. All I would affirm, is, that God did not leave the Execution of his Laws solely to the Management of Men, but did himself interfere so often and so eminently as to convince the *Jews*, that their Affairs were indeed administered by that *extraordinary Providence* which *Moses* described and held out to them.

Had not this been the Case, the Author of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* could not truly have said, that in the Time of the *Jewish* Dispensation, " Every Transgression and Disobedience received a just Recompence of Reward." ii. 2.

" my

“ my Commandments, as thy Father *David* did
 “ walk, then *I will lengthen thy Days.*” 1 Kings
 iii. 14.*

And if we may believe *Solomon* himself, the
 same Promise was made to the other *Israelites* upon
 the same Terms. “ The Fear of the Lord pro-
 “ *longeth Days*, but *the Years* of the Wicked shall
 “ *be shortened.*” Prov. x. 27.

“ By me *thy Days* shall be multiplied, and *the*
 “ *Years of thy Life* shall be increased.” ix. 11.

“ My Son, forget not my Law; but let thine
 “ Heart keep my Commandments.

“ For *Length of Days*, and *long Life*, and *Peace*
 “ shall they add to thee.

“ ——— *Length of Days* is in her right Hand, and
 “ in her left Hand *Riches and Honour.*” iii. 1,
 2, 16.

It seems clear and evident that *David*, as well as
Solomon, understood the Sanctions of the Law in
 the Sense here asserted; or supposed them to extend
 to Particulars and Individuals.

“ But *thou, O God*, shalt bring them down into
 “ the Pit of Destruction; *bloody and deceitful Men*
 “ shall not live out *half their Days.* Ps. lv. 23.
 “ The Face of the Lord is against them that do
 “ Evil, to cut off the Remembrance of them from the
 “ *Earth.*” xxxiv. 16.

“ Fret not thyself because of evil Doers——for
 “ they shall soon *be cut down like the Grass*, and
 “ *wither as the green Herb.*” xxxvii. 12.

* Deut. xvii. 10. The Promise of a *long Life* and prospe-
 rous Reign is made to pious and obedient *Kings*. “ That his
 “ Heart be not lifted up above his Brethren, and that he turn
 “ not aside from the Commandment, to the right Hand, or to
 “ the Left, to the End that he may prolong his Days in his King-
 “ dom; he, and his Children, in the Midst of *Israel.*”

“ Evil Doers shall *be cut off*; but those that wait
 “ upon the Lord shall inherit the Land. For yet
 “ a little while, and the Wicked shall not be; yea,
 “ thou shalt diligently consider his Place, *and it*
 “ *shall not be.*” ix. 10.

“ The Wicked shall perish, and the Enemies
 “ of the Lord shall be *as the Fat of Lambs*, they
 “ *shall consume : into Smoak shall they consume away.*”
 20. *

The late Dr. Clarke tells us, “ That the Psalmist,
 “ as being sensible what the usual Effect of Wick-
 “ edness was, prays thus, (*Pf. cii. 24.*) *O my*
 “ *God, take me not away in the Midst of my Days.*
 “ Indeed, in the *whole Book of Psalms*, the

* In these Passages certain Calamities and Troubles are
 threatened to the Wicked, and these such as were not to arise
 from the natural Order and Constitution of Things, or the
 common and ordinary Execution of the Laws, but were to be
 inflicted by the *immediate Hand of Providence*; and such is the
 general Language of the Book of Psalms. “ The Lord trieth
 “ the Righteous, but the Wicked, and him that loveth Vio-
 “ lence, his Soul hateth.

“ Upon the Wicked he shall *rain Snares, Fire and Brim-*
 “ *stone, and an horrible Tempest : This shall be the Portion of*
 “ *their Cup.*” xi, 5, 6.

Again, “ Before your Pots can feel the Thorns, he shall
 “ take them away as with a Whirlwind, both living and in
 “ his Wrath.

“ The Righteous shall rejoice when he seeth the Ven-
 “ geance; he shall wash his Footsteps in the Blood of the
 “ Wicked.

“ So that a Man shall say, Verily there is a Reward for the
 “ Righteous; verily he is a God that judgeth the Earth.”
 lviii. 9, 10, 11.

Lastly, “ They gather themselves together against the Soul
 “ of the Righteous, and condemn the innocent Blood.

“ But the Lord is my Defence, and my God is the Rock of
 “ my Refuge.

“ And he shall *bring upon them their own Iniquity*, and shall
 “ *cut them off in their own Wickedness*; yea, the Lord our God
 “ shall cut them off.” xciv. 21, 22, 23.

“ Wicked

“ Wicked are *perpetually threatened* with being cut off before their Time.” *Sermons* v. 2. p. 158.

In the following Passages the *Promises* of the Law were made to Particulars and Individuals.

“ Blessed is *every one* that feareth the Lord, that walketh in his Ways.

“ For thou shalt eat the Labour of thine Hands; happy shalt thou be, and it shall be well with thee.

“ Thy Wife shall be as a fruitful Vine by the Sides of thine House; thy Children like Olive Plants round about thy Table.*

“ Behold, thus shall *the Man* be blessed that feareth the Lord.” cxxviii. 1, 2, 3, 4.

Again, “ Blessed is *the Man* that feareth the Lord,—his Seed shall be mighty upon Earth; the Generation of *the Upright* shall be blessed.

“ *Riches* and *Plenteousness* shall be in *his House*, and his Righteousness endureth for ever.” cxii.

1, 2, 3.

Lastly, “ Lord, who shall abide in thy Tabernacle? &c.

“ He that walketh uprightly, &c.

“ He that putteth not out his Money to Usury, nor taketh Reward against the Innocent. He that doth these Things shall never be moved.”

xv. 1, 2,—5.†

We

* *Inter ea quæ in hac vita expeti solent est etiam proles.*—*Quare lex divina per Moysen promulgata sicut aliarum rerum felicitatem ita progeniem quoque cultoribus suis pollicetur*, Exod. xxiii. 26. *Levit.* xxvi. 9. *Deut.* vii. 14. xxviii. 11. — *Grotius* on *Luke* i. 7. — This excellent Writer plainly refers this Promise to Particulars and Individuals; and the Words of the Psalmist, just quoted, clearly and undeniably shew that he did not extend it too far.

† As to the Penalties annexed to Disobedience, I have endeavoured in a foregoing Note to shew, that God did not leave them solely and entirely to the Execution of the Judges, but sometimes interposed himself to inflict them.

We find too the later Prophets considering these Sanctions in the same View, declaring that the

I must here add, that the *Jewish* Law (different in this from all others *) had the Sanctions of Rewards as well as Punishments. It has been shewn too, that these Rewards were actually promised to Particulars and Individuals. Here then, I apprehend, an extraordinary Interposition was necessary, that God might accomplish his Promises and fulfil his Engagements to the Observers of the Law: For it does not appear, from the *Jewish* History, that the Judges were appointed to dispense Rewards as well as Punishments. Nor could Society, as such, supply them.†

The very Species of the Rewards promised was often of such a Nature, as could be only conferred by God himself. It is often declared in the Old Testament, that a special Providence should watch over the Righteous, and crown their Undertakings with Prosperity and Success.

"Blessed is the Man that hath not walked in the Counsel of the Ungodly. — He shall be like a Tree planted by the Rivers of Waters that bringeth forth his Fruit in his Season: His Leaf also shall not wither, and whatsoever he doth shall prosper" *Psalms* i. 1, 3.

"Thou shalt freely give him, and thy Heart shall not be grieved when thou givest unto him; because that for this Thing the Lord thy God shall bless thee in all thy Works, and in all that thou puttest thine Hand unto." *Deut.* xv. 10.

"It shall not seem hard unto thee when thou sendest him away free from thee; for he hath been worth a double hired Servant to thee, in serving thee six Years; and the Lord thy God shall bless thee in all that thou doest." v. 18.

Idly therefore has it been asserted, that the Promise of temporal Happiness and Prosperity was made to the Jews merely as a Nation, or considered only in a public and collective Capacity: Since the Passages here quoted, as well as many others produced above, plainly and evidently refer it to Particulars and Individuals.

A numerous and flourishing Offspring is one of the Advantages promised to the Doers of the Law. "Thy Wife shall be as a fruitful Vine by the Sides of thine House, thy Children like Olive Plants round about thy Table."

* See the Alliance between Church and State. B. i. c. 3.

† *Id. ib.*

Here

the Rewards and Punishments contained in the Law were promised and threatened to Particulars and Individuals.

He

Here is a Blessing that could proceed only from the Hand of God, or the special Favour of Providence.

“ Behold the Eye of the Lord is upon them that fear him :

“ Upon them that hope in his Mercy.”

“ To deliver their Soul from Death, and to keep them alive in Famine.” xxxiii. 18, 19.

“ They shall not be ashamed in the evil Time, and in the Days of Famine they shall be satisfied.” xxxvii. 19.

“ Whoso dwelleth under the Defence of the Most High, shall abide under the Shadow of the Almighty ; he shall deliver thee from the Snare of the Hunter, and from the noisom Pestilence : Thou shalt not be afraid for any Terror by Night, nor for the Arrow that flieth by Day ; for the Pestilence that walketh in Darknes, nor for the Sickness that destroyeth in the Noon-day : A Thousand shall fall beside thee, and ten Thousand at thy right Hand, but it shall not come nigh thee : There shall no Evil happen unto thee, nor any Plague come nigh thy Dwelling.” *Psalms* xci.

What but a divine Interposition, or a special Providence, could be sufficient to protect and preserve the Righteous in the particular Circumstances here supposed, or serve to avert the Evils and Calamities here specified?

Dr. Barrow assures us, that a long Life was plainly and expressly promised to such Particulars and Individuals as observed the Law.

Grotius has often affirmed the same Thing, *Numb.* xxiii. 10. *Id est, morte nec violenta, nec immatura, quod Israelitis promissum legem observantibus.*

Rom. x. 5. “ The Man which doth these Things shall live by them.” *Id est, longævus erit, ut interpretatur Chaldæus. Justitia legis non est talis obedientia quæ nulli contigit, sed lex consideratur una cum suis expiationibus. Hoc modo secundum legem facta sua dirigentibus lex vitam promittit longam ac prosperam. Hæc est factorum merces.* *Deut.* xxxii. 47.

It is plain then, the Promise of long Life was made to Particulars and Individuals under the Law. But how could this Promise be executed and fulfilled without a divine Interposition?

“ God (says the Bishop of London) having established a Covenant with them (the Jews) upon temporal Promises and temporal Curses ; the very Execution of the Covenant, on God’s Part, required him to appear and openly administer

“ He that walketh righteously, and speaketh
 “ uprightly ; he that despiseth the Gain of Oppres-
 “ sions,

“ the Penalties and Promises of this Law ; to procure the Happi-
 “ ness of the People, when obedient, and to inflict the Punish-
 “ ment due to their Iniquities,” *Fifth Disc. on Prophecy.*

I have shewn, that the Penalties and Blessings of the Covenant did extend to Particulars and Individuals, as well as to the State in general ; and this is no more than what is asserted by his Lordship himself, p. 61. Here then I would ask, how God, *consistently with these Engagements*, could fail to interpose, and dispense these Blessings and Penalties to Particulars and Individuals ?

It is usual with Mr. Pyle in his *Paraphrase*, to refer the Promises and Threatenings of the Law to Particulars and Individuals ; and to declare, that God himself had engaged to reward the *Jews* that obeyed, and to punish those that transgressed the Law of *Moses*.

But is he sincere in these Professions ? One would hope so. For, after this, to deny the Existence of an extraordinary Providence, would be giving the lie to *Moses* ; and exposing the *Jewish* Institution to the Contempt of Unbelievers for its Imbecillity, and him the Commentator to their Scorn for his Tergiversation.

I advance nothing with regard to this extraordinary Providence, but what every *consistent* Believer will be obliged to advance with me : Which is, that the temporal Rewards and Punishments, promised and threatened in the Law to Particulars and Individuals, were actually administered and dispensed. And can any Man believe the Scriptures, without believing this ?

Ex. gr. As a long Life was plainly and expressly promised to the Doers of the Law ; hence I infer, that this Blessing was generally conferred upon them, or that a Distinction was made between them and the Wicked with regard to the Duration of their Lives.

Episcopius, Carcellæus, and Limborch have affirmed the same Thing.

It is objected by some late Writers, that King *Josiah*, and other Observers of the Law, died early and immature. Here I would ask, whether these Examples are considered as particular Exceptions to a general Rule, or as Proofs that no Distinction was made between the Righteous and the Wicked, in the Duration of their Lives ?

As Exceptions to a general Rule, they make nothing against my present Argument, because I do not suppose that every particular Observer of the Law met with his Reward in this World.

If

“ fions, that shaketh *his* Hands from holding of
 “ Bribes, that stoppeth his Ears from hearing of
 “ Blood, and shutteth his Eyes from seeing Evil.
 “ He

As Proofs that no Distinction was made between the Righteous and the Wicked, they shew, that the Promises of the Law were not accomplished and fulfilled, and consequently that *Moses* was an Impostor: A very proper Exploit for a Believer and a Divine.

The Difficulty (if indeed there be any) in the Case of *Josiah* is not peculiar to the Author of the *D. L.* but common to him with the other Advocates of revealed Religion. For since a long Life is promised to pious and obedient Kings (*Dent. xvii. 10.*) it will be incumbent on every consistent Believer to maintain, that the untimely Death of this Prince is consistent with the general Promise of the Law. And this is not difficult to do. For, the Bishop of *London* observes, “ that he was found in the
 “ Day of Battle, not with the Equipage of a King of *Judah*,
 “ but surrounded with Chariots and Horsemen, contrary to an
 “ express Precept of the Law.” Other Solutions of this Difficulty have been given by other Divines, and it indeed affects them all as much as the Author of the *D. L.* But distresses none, except the Fighters for Systems.

It has been said, that *Solomon* declares, that all Things come alike to all, and that there is one Event to the Righteous and to the Wicked. Mr. *W.* replies, his Adversaries mistake the Subject in this famous Book; and that *Solomon* in this Place is not speaking of the State and Condition of Things amongst the *Jews*, but of the Administration of Providence amongst their Pagan Neighbours round about. The following Considerations may be offered in Support of this Solution.

I. If we will believe *Moses*, God did actually engage, in certain Circumstances, to reward the Observers and punish the Transgressors of the Law, in the present Life. And could *Solomon*, consistently with these Engagements, suppose that God made no Distinction between the Righteous and the Wicked, or that there was one Event to him that sacrificed and to him that sacrificed not?

II. In some Passages quoted above, he himself tells us, that God had promised to prolong the Lives of the Virtuous, and to shorten the Days of the Wicked and Disobedient. And could he, after this, without the most glaring Contradiction, affirm that no real Difference or Distinction was made between the Righteous and the Wicked?

III. Ac-

“ He shall dwell on high; *his* Place of Defence
 “ shall be the Munitions of Rocks, Bread shall be
 “ given *him*, *his* Waters shall be sure.” *Isaiab*
 xxxiii. 15, 16.

Again, “ If thou draw out thy Soul to the Hun-
 “ gry, and satisfy the afflicted Soul, then shall thy
 “ Light rise in Obscurity, and thy Darkness be as
 “ the Noon day.

“ And the Lord shall guide thee continually,
 “ and satisfy thy Soul in Drought, and make fat
 “ thy Bones: And thou shalt be like a watered
 “ Garden, and like a Spring of Water, whose
 “ Waters fail not.” lvi. 10.

I will conclude these Quotations from Scripture
 with the following Words of the Prophet *Eze-*
kiel.

III. According to this Interpretation, *Solomon* is not only
 inconsistent with *Moses* and himself, but likewise with the Au-
 thor of the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, who tells us, that EVERY
Transgression and Disobedience received a just Recompence of Re-
ward. ii. 2.

Now I shall be glad to see a better Solution of this Difficulty
 than that given by the Author of the *Div. Leg.* At present let
 me observe that other Believers are concerned equally with him
 to shew, 1. that *Solomon* is consistent with *Moses*; 2. with the
 Author of the Epistle; and 3. with himself.

In a Word, TILL the *Divine Legation* was written, this Position,
 that the *Jewish* Affairs were really administered by an extraor-
 dinary Providence, was the universal Language of *Divines*:
 That it was in Scripture represented as so administered, was
 as universally allowed by the *Deists*; what therefore the *latter*
 granted as delivered, and what the *former* professed to believe,
 and would have been glad to know how to verify, the Author
 of the *D. L.* by the Medium he employed, has proved was
 actually performed. But this being a Departing (as it was well
 expressed) from the old Posture of Defence, and, for other Rea-
 sons best known to the Parties concerned, some *Divines* thought
 fit to eat their Words, and go over to the *freer* Sentiments of
 the common Adversary.—But,

Pudet hæc, &c.

I

“ Every

“ Every one of the House of *Israel*, which separateth himself from me, and setteth up his Idols in his Heart, and putteth the Stumbling-block of his Iniquity before his Place, and cometh to a Prophet to inquire of him concerning me, I, the Lord, will answer him *by myself*.

“ And I will set my Face against *that Man*, and will make *him* a Sign and a Proverb; and I will cut him off from the Midst of my People, and ye shall know that I am the Lord.”
xiv. 7, 8.

The Author of the *D. L.* demands of his Adversaries, why the Doctrine of a future State was not made a Sanction of the *Mosaic* Religion? They reply, that it could not properly be delivered as a Sanction of this Religion, since it had no Sanctions but such as were purely national, or related to the People only in their public and collective Capacity, without reaching to Particulars and Individuals.

To this, I have shewn from the plain and express Words both of *Moses* and the Prophets, that these Sanctions did actually extend to Particulars and Individuals.

I have produced a long Train of Passages to this Purpose.* I have added several Explanations of them from

* I dwelt the longer on this Article, because I found the Objection had the Authority of some great Names to countenance and support it. It is strongly asserted by Bishop *Burnet* on the Articles. p. 97.

And a much greater Man, the late excellent Dr. *Clarke*, has sometimes declared for the same Opinion. He observes, that the Notion of a future State was not clearly revealed and manifested to the *Jews*.—“ The Reason whereof (adds he) seems to be this. The *Jews* were a peculiar Nation, chosen of God to be a standing Instance of his Providence in the Government of the World, and of his rewarding Virtue and punishing Vice; the Promises therefore and Threatenings upon their Obedience or Disobedience were made to that Nation,

“ con-

from some very eminent and able Writers, in order to shew, that, *according to their Reasoning*, the Sanctions of the Law could not be executed, unless God himself interposed for this End.

I have now gone through the several Objections that have been made to this *second* Argument of the *D. L.* How far the Answers here offer'd are sufficient and satisfactory, must be submitted to the Judgment of the Reader.

I held it proper to defend and explain *this second* Argument, because it seems to have been so grossly misrepresented, or misunderstood, by the Writers against the *D. L.* Even Dr. *Stebbing*, notwithstanding he wrote *two large* Pamphlets against it, never observed, or never informed his Reader, that Mr. *W.* had endeavoured to support his Argument by two *separate* and *distinct* Syllogisms: He never takes the least Notice that *this last* was offered as a *single, proper, and independent* Proof.*

And

“ considered as a Body politic, and therefore must of necessity
“ have been such as could belong to a nation as such, and be
“ conspicuous to the World; *i. e.* they must needs have been
“ temporal.” *Sermons*, v. 10. p. 145, 6.

However, this was one of those Points in which this great Man was far from being consistent with himself. Numberless Passages might be produced out of his Sermons, in which he plainly and evidently supposes, that the Promises and Threatenings of the Law were made to Particulars and Individuals; one Instance of which we have in this very Volume, p. 350.

* The Doctor has attempted to impose a gross Fallacy on the Reader, even in the very Title of his Pamphlet. “ An Examination of Mr. *Warburton's second Proposition.*” But had he been disposed to confine himself to the strict Truth, or to acquaint his Reader with the real State of the Case, he would have called it an “ Examination of the second Proposition of Mr. *Warburton's first Syllogism.*” This would indeed have been a fair Representation; but a fair Representation would not answer his Purpose. While he pretends to examine Mr. *Warburton's second Proposition*, he would insinuate
and

And hence arises all the Confusion of Counter-reasoning, and idle Parade of Mock-Arguments, so largely described and exposed above.

I chose to undertake the Defence of *the present Argument*, because I found the Dr. had asserted both the major and minor Propositions of Mr. Warburton's second Syllogism. And I had not Logic enough to find out how he could evade the Conclusion.

"It was universally believed by the Antients, on their common Principles of Legislation and Wisdom, that whatsoever Religion and Society have no future State for their Support, must be supported by an extraordinary Providence.

"*Moses*, skilled in all that Legislation and Wisdom, instituted the *Jewish* Religion and Society, without a future State for its Support."

"Therefore *Moses*, who taught, believed likewise, that *this* Religion and Society were to be supported by an extraordinary Providence."

It is owned by the Doctor, that there never was any State or civil Society without an established Religion. It is owned too by him, that there never was an established Religion which was not supported on the Doctrine of a future State. He must therefore admit the major Proposition of the foregoing Syllogism.

As he supposes that the Sanctions of the *Mosaic* Religion were purely temporal, he must admit the minor Proposition likewise.*

and suggest, that he had here examined the *sole* Argument produced by the Author of the *D. L.* in Support of his main Point. An Insinuation the less surprising, as it was not for his Credit to declare, that *more* than *one* Medium had been made use of for this Purpose.

* Here I must repeat, that the Argument of the *D. L.* is addressed to the Deists. Now the Deists must, and in fact do suppose, that the *Israelites* had no System of Religion besides that instituted

Since therefore he allows, that our Author has proved both the *major* and *minor* Propositions, we need surely be in no Pain about the *Conclusion*.

And here it is worth Notice, that the Principles, assumed by our Author in Support of his *second* Argument, are as strongly asserted by Dr. Stebbing as himself. They both agree in affirming, *that the Sanctions of the Mosaic Religion were purely temporal*. The Doctor's Anger arises from Mr. W.'s applying this Principle as a Proof of the *divine Original of the Law*. And why will not the Dr. forgive him this *Wrong*? What Hurt can come to the Credit and Authority of Scripture, by attempting to deduce the *divine Legation of Moses* from a Principle which the Dr. himself holds to be strictly true?

It is remarkable likewise, that the Dr. asserts the Reality of an *extraordinary* Providence, and holds it to be a Scripture Doctrine. Why then does he quarrel with Mr. W. for endeavouring to support it by a *new-discovered* Argument; especially as the Principle assumed for this Purpose is supposed, by the Doctor himself, to be really and strictly true?

It is indeed usual with our best and ablest Divines, when they are enforcing the public Utility of Religion, to observe, that no civil Society ever subsisted without a national Religion. And that every national Religion is supported on the Sanction of a future State. Which is no other than asserting the *major* Proposition of this *second* Syllogism.

tuted by *Moses*. If then the Doctor allows that the *Jewish* Religion did not contain the Promise of another Life, he allows all that is necessary to establish the minor Proposition against the Deists.

All our late Writers of Credit and Distinction, who have touched upon the present Question, seem to concur in affirming, that the Sanctions of the Law were purely temporal. They seem therefore all to assent the *minor* Proposition of this *second* Syllogism.

How absurd then and foolish was it to call this Argument a *mere Paradox*, since it goes upon the *common* and *received* Principles, and is established and confirmed in all its Parts by the Testimony and Concurrence of the best and ablest Writers?

It is true, this *second Syllogism* proves no more than that *Moses* himself was well satisfied and assured, that he should be supported in an extraordinary Way. The Deist, therefore, may object, that *Moses's* Persuasion and Belief is no real and proper Proof that an extraordinary Providence was actually administered and dispensed.

But to this Mr. *W.* has given a sufficient Answer. He says, " That, if *Moses* could really believe an
 " extraordinary Providence when there was none,
 " he must be a frank Enthusiast; which the Deists
 " themselves will not venture to call him. Nay,
 " if the long Experience of forty Years, in which
 " he conducted that People, could not undeceive
 " him in this Delusion, his Enthusiasm must have
 " been quite incurable; or rather, he must be stark
 " mad; which is so monstrous a Supposition, that
 " all Mankind will be ashamed of it."*

Besides, he tells us, that an Answer to this Objection may be reduced to the following Syllogism.

" None but one ignorant of the World, or an
 " Enthusiast, who had received a Promise like
 " that given to the *Jews*, and had lived to the

* Appendix to the Alliance, p. 172.

" Time

“ Time marked for its Accomplishment, could
 “ be mistaken either about the Promise or its Com-
 “ pletion.

“ But *Moses* received such a Promise, and lived
 “ to the Time marked for its Accomplishment,
 “ and was neither ignorant of the World, nor an
 “ Enthusiast.

“ Therefore *Moses* was not mistaken, either
 “ about the Promise or its Accomplishment.” *

Here then let the Doctor say, whether he believes Mr. *W.* will be able to make good this Point against Unbelievers or no. If he does, he must allow the *second* Argument of the *D. L.* its full Force. If he does not, what Opinion must he have of the real Character of *Moses*?

Thus the Question is reduced to a short Issue; no Subterfuge or Evasion remains, unless he will join with the Deists in fastening the Charge of Enthusiasm upon *Moses*, in order to elude the Reasoning contained in the foregoing Syllogism.

Upon the whole, it plainly appears, that the Doctor has objected nothing pertinent or material to this *second* Argument of the *Divine Legation*. — The Argument is addressed to Deists and Unbelievers; and it has been shewn, that these cannot accord to the Doctor's main Assertion, without departing from their own Principles, and supposing the divine Origin of the Law and the Legation of *Moses*.†

* *Remarks*, p. 116.

† Indeed a late celebrated Writer seems to think, that a Community might support itself without any Religion at all; and appeals to a supposed Fact: Which therefore it will be incumbent on us to examine. This excellent Author, in his Book *De L'Esprit des Loix*, begins with observing very truly, L. 24. c. 14. that the weaker the *religious* Sanctions are, the stronger should be the civil. — *Moins la religion sera re-primante,*

primante, plus les Loix civiles doivent reprimér; and illustrates this Maxim by the State of Religion and Laws in Japan; where, as he says, the established Religion having no future State, the Laws supply this Defect by the Severity of their Punishments, and the Punctuality of their Execution.——Ainsi, au Japan la Religion dominante n'ayant presque point de dogmes, & ne proposant point de Paradis ni d'Enfer, les loix, pour y suppléer, ont été faites avec une sévérité & exécutées avec une ponctualité extraordinaires. Without doubt the *Japanese* Laws are very severe, agreeable to the Genius of the Eastern Laws in general: But that they are so constituted for the Reason assigned by this learned Writer, can by no Means be allowed. The most exact and authentic Notice we have of that People is from *Engelbertus Kämpfer*, a German Physician; and the Account he gives of the *Japanese* Religion is this——He says, there are two established Religions; or rather, the established Religion is composed of two Sects, the *Sintos* and the *Budso*: The first is the Idol-worship, as of old established in the Country; the other is the Worship of the foreign Idols, or of such as since those earlier Times have been introduced and naturalized. Now both these Religions, he expressly tells us, are supported by the Doctrine of a future State. “The Adherents of the *Sintos* Religion (says he) do not believe the *Pythagorean* Doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls, altho’ almost universally received by the Eastern Nations. However, they abstain from the killing and eating of those Beasts which are serviceable to Mankind, thinking it an Act of Cruelty and Ungratefulness. They believe that the Souls, after their Departure from the Bodies, transmigrate to a Place of Happiness, seated just beneath the thirty-three Heavens, and Dwelling-Places of their Gods, which, on this Account, they call *Takamano farra*, which signifies *Light and sub-celestial Fields*: That the Souls of those who had led a good Life in this World are admitted without Delay; but that the Souls of the Bad and Impious are denied Entrance, and condemned to err without, a Time sufficient to expiate their Crimes.” B. 3. c. 2. p. 213. of *Scheuchzer’s English Translation*.

With regard to the *Budso* Religion, the Author, speaking of its Founder, *Siaka*, says, “The Force of his Enthusiasm was so great, that, by its Means, he penetrated into the most secret and important Points of Religion, discovering the Existence and State of *Heaven* and *Hell*, as Places of Reward and Punishment, the State of our Souls in the Life to come, the Transmigration thereof, the Way to eternal Happiness, the divine Power of the Gods in the Government of this World, and many more Things beyond the Reach of human

“ human Understanding, which he afterwards freely commu-
 “ nicated to the numerous Crouds of his Disciples.” p. 243.
 Speaking of the Doctrines of this Religion, he says, “ The
 “ Souls of Men, after their Departure from their Bodies, are
 “ rewarded in a Place of *Happiness* or *Misery*, according to their
 “ Behaviour in this Life. The Place of Happiness is called
 “ *Gokurakf*, that is, a Place of eternal Pleasure. As the Gods
 “ differ in their Nature, and the Souls of Men in the Merit of
 “ their past Actions, so do likewise the Degrees of Pleasure and
 “ Happiness in their *Elysian Fields*, that every one may be re-
 “ warded as he deserves.” p. 243. It appears from all this,
 that the admirable Author *de L'Esprit des Loix*, was imposed on
 in his Intelligence concerning this Matter. The same Thing
 has been affirmed of the *Chinese* Religion, and on no better
 Grounds. It is true, there is a Set of *Literati* in both these
 Empires, who, as to their religious, or rather, philosophic
 Notions, are rank *Spinozists*: But this has no more to do with
 their established Religion, than *Free-thinking* has with ours. Yet
 I am persuaded, the false Representations of the *Chinese* and
Japonefe Religion arose from thence: And who would wonder,
 if an Inhabitant of *Pekin*, or *Jedo*, who had only a cursory
 View of *London*, should take *Free-thinking* to be the established
 Religion of the Place?



P A R T II.

AS one chief Purpose of these Sheets is to shew, that Dr. *Stebbing's* own Concessions are sufficient to establish the Argument of the *D. L.* which he has employed so much Pains to confute; I chose to *begin* with the prosecution of the *second* Syllogism, because he had so frankly allowed every Thing that was necessary to confirm it. Indeed both the *major* and the *minor* of it.

In no Part of his two Pamphlets does he ever attempt to answer the main Argument, or to account for the Omission of a future State in the *Mosaic* Institutes, any otherwise than by having Recourse to the *Revelation*-System. A clear, tho' tacit Confession, that the Deist, upon his own Principles, can give no probable, consistent, or reasonable Account of this Circumstance.

But the Doctor's Concessions do not, at first Sight, seem to afford the same Advantage, with respect to the *first* Argument of the *D. L.* However, I have the Pleasure to observe, that there is not so great and considerable a Difference between him and his learned Adversary, as to make all Hopes of an Agreement between them quite desperate. For tho' the Dr. is unwilling to allow *every Thing asserted* by our Author, yet has he allowed *enough* to establish his Argument, or to prove the Reality of an extraordinary Providence over the *Jewish* People.

For a strict and close Attention to his Reasoning will shew, that he has adopted such Principles as must oblige him to suppose, that the *Jews* had no Knowledge of a future State; which is to admit the *first* Argument of the *D. L.* in all its Force.

Let us attend to the Argument itself. “ Whatsoever Religion and Society have no future State for their Support, must be supported by an extraordinary Providence.

“ The *Jewish* Religion and Society had no future State for their Support.”

“ Therefore the *Jewish* Religion and Society were supported by an extraordinary Providence.”*

Against this Reasoning the Dr. addresses himself, and denies the *minor*. He says, the *Jewish* Religion had a future State: However, if it can be shewn the *Jews* had no Knowledge of it, he is willing to allow that this Argument will be a sufficient Proof that an extraordinary Providence was administered; and consequently, that the Mission of *Moses* was divine.

But let us hear him in his own Words. “ If you say, and can prove it too, that the *Jews* in fact HAD NOT the Doctrine of a future State; this, indeed, will be a *Plea* that an extraordinary Providence was necessary to supply the Want of it, and that *Moses*, when he undertook the Government, was well assured that he should be extraordinarily supported. And this, at least, is the Bottom upon which Mr. *W.*’s Demonstration must stand, or it can stand upon *nothing*.”†

Thus the Doctor has reduced the Controversy between himself and his learned Adversary into a

* Remarks, p. 78.

† History of *Abraham*, p. 81.

narrow Compass; the single Question we see is, Whether the *Jews* had, or had not, the Doctrine of a future State. If Mr. *W.* be able to support the *negative*, the Dr. himself owns, that he will gain his Point, and prove what he undertook.

What I would observe then, upon the *present State of the Argument*, is, 1st, that this Reasoning of the Doctor's will clear the Doctrine of the *D. L.* from some Objections that have been brought against it. It has been said, that Mr. *W.* attempts to deduce the Mission of *Moses* from a new and unusual Topic; a Medium as inconclusive as it is singular and uncommon; there being no strict and proper Connexion between his *Premises* and his *Conclusion*. But here Dr. *St.* comes to his Assistance, and owns, that if we suppose the *Jews* were not in Possession of the Doctrine of a future State, we must needs admit an extraordinary Providence, there being a strict Connexion between the Premises and the Conclusion.*

2dly. If it can be shewn that the *Jews* had not the Knowledge of a future State; the Doctor himself owns this will be a sufficient Proof that an extraordinary Providence was actually administered. This is a plain Confession that the Argument of the *D. L.* is strictly conclusive against the Deists; for they contend, that the Notion of a future State was

* Indeed, this new and unheard of Paradox stands upon two very innocent and familiar Principles, 1st, *That civil Society would not be able to subsist without the additional Assistance of Religion.* 2. *That Religion would not be able to support itself under the ordinary Dispensation of a common Providence, without the Doctrine of a future State*

The first of these Points has been as strongly asserted by my Lord of London, Dr. *St.* and all our orthodox Divines, as by the Author of the *D. L.*

The second seems to have been generally espoused by all the sober Writers against that Book.

perfectly unknown to the *Israelites*, in the more early Ages of the *Jewish Republic*.

Mr. *W.* undertakes to prove the divine Mission of *Moses*; and to whom, I pray, was his Argument directed? The Dr. will tell us, "It was intended for the Conviction of *Unbelievers*." * Does not he himself then acknowledge that it fully answers it's End?

But there is a strange Mistake somewhere. The Doctor, by his Rage against it, seems to fancy it was directed against Him and Orthodoxy. If the Reader asks how he came to fall into so strange an Absurdity, I can give no other Answer than this; That whoever tries new *Experiments* in Defence of Religion, is an Enemy to it, and consequently responsible to the Doctor.

But let us consider the great Advantage which, according to the Doctor's own Reasoning, Mr. *W.* has gained over the Deists. The History of the Old Testament assures us, that God undertook the Government of the *Jews*, and frequently interposed to manage and conduct the Affairs of this People. Dr. *Stebbing* says, "They were under the immediate Direction of God, who manifested himself to them by the Voice of his Prophets; and by a great Variety of *extraordinary and uncommon Events*, gave them *incontestible Evidence of his Presence among them*."† But the Deists laugh at this History of divine Interpositions, as nothing better than a Set of Fairy-Tales. To check this Insult, Mr. *W.* thus argues: You yourselves (says he) contend that the *Israelites* had no future State in their Religion, nor appear to have had any Knowledge of the Doctrine. Now, from this very *Omission*, which you urge to shew the Imperfection

* Exam. p. 66.

† Answer to Christianity as old as the Creation, p. 58.

of the *Jewish* Religion, I undertake to evince the *Reality* of those miraculous Dispensations, which, tho' recorded in holy Writ, you so much affect to despise, by shewing that the *Jewish* Constitution, under that Omission, could not have supported itself but by an *extraordinary* Providence. And does not the Doctor own that he says true; and consequently, that he has fully established the Truth and Authority of the Bible History against Deists and Unbelievers?

It had been pretended, that the Want of a future State in the *Jewish* Religion would prove, that a Religion so imperfect could not come from God. But the Doctor will not chuse to countenance this Objection; because he has declared, that the Want of this Doctrine in the *Jewish* Institution would prove, that it was supported by an extraordinary Providence. For by so doing he would seem to say, that the same Circumstance might prove both that the *Jewish* Dispensation *was*, and at the same Time *was not*, of divine Appointment.

3dly. It may be proper to observe, that the Argument of the *Divine Legation* has been admitted, and, in great Measure, supposed true, by the Doctor himself, at the very Time he was labouring to confute it.

" The Bible (says Mr. *W.*) contains a very circumstantial History of this People, from the Time of *Moses* to the great Captivity: Not only of public Occurrences, but the private Adventures of Persons of both Sexes, and of all Ages and Stations, of all Characters and Complexions; in the Lives of Virgins, Matrons, Kings, Soldiers, Scholars, Priests, Merchants, Husbandmen. They are given too in every Circumstance of Life; victorious, captive, sick, and in Health; in full Security, and amidst impending Dangers;

“ plunged in civil Business, or retired and sequestered in the Service of Religion.—Together
 “ with their *Story*, we have their *Compositions* likewise: Here they sing their Triumphs, there
 “ their *Palinodia*; here they offer up their Hymns
 “ of Praise, and Petitions to the Deity; here they
 “ urge their moral Précepts to their Countrymen;
 “ and here again they treasure up their Prophecies and Predictions for Posterity: Yet, in none
 “ of these different Circumstances of Life, in none
 “ of these various Casts of Composition, do we
 “ ever find them acting on the Motives, or influenced by the Prospect of a *future State*; or, indeed,
 “ expressing the least *Hopes* or *Fears*, or even common *Curiosity* concerning it: But every
 “ Thing they do or say respects the present Life only; the Good and Ill of which are the sole
 “ Objects of all their Pursuits and Aversions.”

Remarks, p. 102, 103.

The Doctor, indeed, will not allow this to be a fair Account, but insists, that we have *some* Footsteps and Traces of this Doctrine in the more early Parts of the *Jewish* History, or that the People are *sometimes* represented as acting on the Motives, and influenced by the Prospect of another Life. However, he allows, that the Instances of this kind are very *rare*, and that but *few* Circumstances can be produced which shew, that the more *early Jews* ever extended their Prospect to a future State.

Let us argue on his own State of the Case; and ask him, Whence it comes to pass, that there is so wide and considerable a *Difference* between the History of the *Jews* and that of all other People? Or why the *first* are not supposed to have acted as constantly on the Motives, and to have been influenced

as constantly by the Prospect of another World as the last? Will the Dr. be ever able to account for this *Difference*, without having Recourse to the Supposition of an extraordinary Providence in the Beginning, or first Ages of the *Jewish* Covenant?

Whence, I would ask, comes it, that we have *so little Mention* of a future State in the Books, Writings, and Compositions of the old *Jews*? To satisfy us in this Point, the Dr. finds himself obliged to acknowledge, that an *extraordinary* Providence was promised, and actually administered over the *Jewish* People. “ I very willingly allow you (says he) that the *general* Turn of the Book of *Psalms* “ has an Aspect upon temporal Things; and that “ there are *very few* Passages which *speak* the Writers “ of them to have had *any farther Hopes*; which will “ appear very strange to those who judge of the “ Spirit of these Compositions, by what they see of “ Compositions of the same kind, under the Gospel “ Dispensation. But such should consider, that the “ Authors of this Book [*and consequently of all the other* “ *Books in the Old Testament*] lived in the Age of the “ temporal Covenant, when God had made him- “ self *known* to them under the *Character* of their “ temporal Deliverer and Protector: And what “ Wonder is it, in such a Case, that (since tem- “ poral Happiness or Misery lie nearest us, and “ affect us most) they should make it the princi- “ pal Subject of their Devotions. If a Christian “ pray for temporal Things, any farther than in “ general Terms for what is necessary for the “ Body, it would be *offensive*. The Reason is, “ that Christ was Minister of the *spiritual* Covenant, “ and hath given us Directions *to seek the Kingdom* “ *of God and his Righteousness*. But God had UN- “ DERTAKEN with the People of the *Jews* for “ temporal good Things, as the Condition of their “ obeying

“ obeying the Law given by *Moses* ; therefore it
 “ was but *correspondent* to the Dispensation they
 “ were under, *chiefly* to be attentive to God’s Deal-
 “ ing in this Respect ; as what the very Covenant
 “ itself had taught them would be the FIRST, IM-
 “ MEDIATE Concern of his Providence on their
 “ Behalf.” p. 53, 54.

Thus we see, in order to account for the slight, obscure, and imperfect Mention of a future State, in the Books of the Old Testament, the Doctor finds himself obliged to own that what Mr. *W.* had asserted *must* be allowed, before any good Account could be given of the Omission of a future State in the *Jewish* Dispensation ; namely, that the *Jews* lived under the actual Dispensation of an *extraordinary* Providence. Tho’ therefore he does not allow *every Thing* asserted by the Author of the *D. L.* yet he allows *all that is necessary* to establish his main Argument ; which is, to prove the Reality of an *extraordinary* Providence over the *Jewish* People. For he owns, that in the *Jewish* History we have only some rare and slight Intimations of a future State : And he owns too, that this can be only accounted for upon the Supposition that this People lived under an *extraordinary* Providence.

How, after this, was it possible he could flatter himself with the Imagination, that he was disputing against the Argument of the *D. L.* ? The great Design of which is to shew, from certain Circumstances in the *Jewish* History, that such a Dispensation was *really* administered. If then the Doctor would speak to the Purpose, or confute and overthrow the present Argument, he should shew that the Circumstance above-mentioned may be fairly explained and accounted for, upon the Supposition that the *Jews* lived under the same common and ordinary Providence that now prevails ; and, consequently,

quently, that the Argument of the *D. L.* is, in Fact, what he is so eager in representing it to the World, *weak and inconclusive.*

He tells us, that the Argument of the *D. L.* was "intended for the Conviction of Unbelievers." Now these Gentlemen do, and must suppose, that the *Jews* lived under the same ordinary Providence with the rest of Mankind. But the Doctor owns, that, upon this Supposition, they cannot account for the rare and slight Intimations of a future State in the *Jewish* History: And is not this owning that the Deists cannot elude the Argument of the *D. L.*? A mortifying Reflection!

4thly. The Doctor himself contends, that the *Jews* had nothing more than some faint, precarious, and uncertain Hopes of a Futurity, being without any perfect Assurance or full Persuasion of the Reality of another Life. He contends too, that this dark and doubtful Expectation of a future State, was not sufficient to preserve and maintain Religion in the Age of the *Jewish* Covenant. "The End, both of the Law and the Gospel, was the same, *to wit*, the leading Men to the Worship of the true God. As a Motive to this, the one proposes a temporal, the other an eternal Inheritance. Now, from this Diversity of the Motive under each Dispensation, this Difference indeed must necessarily arise, that there is *no farther Need of the Promise of an earthly Canaan, the heavenly being so fully and clearly revealed.*" *

"There is no FARTHER Need of the Promise of an earthly Canaan, the heavenly being so fully and clearly revealed." Notwithstanding the Doctor assigns the *Jews* the Hope and Expectation

* Essay on civil Government, in his polemic Works, p. 46.

of a future State, yet he allows that it was so very faint, glimmering, and obscure, that it would not have been sufficient to preserve and support Religion, without the Promise of an earthly *Canaan*: That is without the Dispensation of an *extraordinary* Providence.

So that, after all this Bustle, the Difference between our Author and the Dr. seems to be extremely slight and inconsiderable. They *both* tell us, the *Jewish* Religion was so circumstanced, that it was not able to subsist without the Help and Aid of an *extraordinary* Providence. And they *both* agree, that the Inability was owing to the Want of a clear, perfect, and distinct Revelation of a future State.

They seem, I say, to differ *but very little* in their *Principles*, and *not at all* in the *Conclusion* they both draw from their respective Principles.—Mr. *W.*'s Principle is, that the *Jews* had no Knowledge of a future State: The Doctor's Principle is, that they had nothing more than some doubtful, ambiguous, and uncertain Notions of another Life: In a Word, so slight, that, with regard to their Influence, it was the same as none at all; since, as we said, he agrees with Mr. *W.* in this common *Conclusion*, that without an *extraordinary* Providence, the *Jewish* Republic could not have subsisted. The very Point which the *Divine Legation* undertook to prove, and very nearly, as we said, on the same Principle.

Though therefore, as an *Answerer* of the *Divine Legation*, he has no reason to boast his dextrous Management; yet, as a *Divine* at large, he need not be ashamed of his Concessions: For some of the ablest and best Defenders of Revelation have not scrupled to confess the same Thing; as may be seen
in

in the Appendix to the first Part of Mr. *W.*'s Remarks.*

And

* Some late Writers, who have considered this Question with great Diligence and Attention, seem to imagine that the *Jews* were left without the Knowledge of a future State.

The learned and ingenious Dr. *Law* supposes, with *Crellius*, that *Moses* could not offer the *Jews* a more sublime, spiritual, and perfect System of Religion. *Quod felicitatem ac mercedem, ob quas pietas colenda esset, terrenæ reipublicæ otio, & eorum tantum bonorum affluentia terminaret, quæ ad corporis pastum spectant, quorumque usus hujus vitæ circumscribitur cancellis, ita requirente istius populi infantia. Of the several Dispensations of Religion, p. 112.*

Ita requirente istius populi infantia. But how could the Minority and Nonage of this People make the Promise of temporal Rewards necessary, but because they were not qualified and ripe for the Doctrine of a future State?

Speaking of the Opinion, which places the Book of *Job* as low as the Captivity, he says, "But this is put beyond all Doubt, by the incomparable Author of the *D. L. b. 6. f. 2. p. 543, &c.* who has given us a beautiful Account of this whole Book, and cleared up all the Difficulties in it, which used so much to perplex Interpreters; and particularly makes it appear, that the Words in Question (*viz.* the famous Text, c. 19.) can relate only to a temporal Deliverance." *p. 82.*

Now if he has shewn this, he has certainly shewn, that the *Jews* had no Knowledge of a future State at this Time; as must appear to every one who looks into the Argument here referred to.

"Though the Law promised temporal good Things to the Good, yet the *Jews* knew, by long Experience, that those Promises had not been fulfilled at all Times, and to all Persons. Extraordinary Interpositions in Behalf of the Righteous were grown less frequent, and proportionably to this Decrease, the Intimations of a future State had been more numerous and evident." (*Jortin's Discourses, p. 11.*) These last Words, tho' they are not quoted from, yet seem to refer to, the *D. L.* and they plainly suppose, that the more early *Jews* had no clear and evident Intimation of a future State.

Mr. *Garnet* in his Dissertation on the Book of *Job*, has fully and effectually confuted the common Interpretation of the celebrated Text in the 19th Chapter; and clearly and undeniably shewn, that it relates only to a temporal Deliverance. He has assigned

And on this Occasion a Difficulty occurs that may deserve the Doctor's Solution. He tells us, that God had undertaken with the *Jews* to administer temporal Blessings to those who obeyed the Law. But it is part of his System that several of these did not meet with their Reward in this Life. What then had such to comfort and support them, if nothing more than some faint, ambiguous, and uncertain Notions of a future State were revealed in that Age and Season of the World? As they were not rewarded by an *extraordinary* Providence, they could have no Prospect of any Recompence but one that was to be dispensed in a *future State*. This the Doctor owns, they had no sufficient Promise and Assurance of. Here then let him tell us, how he makes his own Representation of the *Jewish* Dispensation consistent with our natural Notions of the Goodness of God. It is possible, that in seeking for an Answer, he may fall here again, before he is aware, into his Adversary's Principles.

Some of our most eminent and learned Divines tell us, that a future State was not clearly and distinctly revealed to the *Jews*, because they were

assigned this Book a late Date, and yet supposes the Knowledge of a future State among the *Jews* to have been still later.—

“ There is no one Point so strenuously denied, or treated with such Neglect all along by *Job*, as that of a future Existence, which he disclaims all Interest in, or Concern about.”

“ Had *Job*'s Friends been in Possession of so valuable a Secret as the Doctrine of the Resurrection, the whole Difficulty, which so much perplexed him and them too, had been resolved in a Moment. [So said Mr. *W.* before him.]—

“ God himself undoubtedly would have declared, that, in this Life, he neither rewards nor punishes Men exactly according to their Deserts, but reserves that for its proper Province for the Life which is to come; this would have been the only Solution of the Difficulty; and if God make not this Declaration, the Reason is, *it was not his Pleasure as yet to make any clear Revelation of this Doctrine.*”
Vid. Gasp. Sanct. in Loc. p. 199.

too gross and carnal to be swayed and influenced by the Prospect of another Life. This is only going round and round, for fear of being drawn into this terrible System of the *D. L.* And yet there is no Help, they must at last center in it: For if this was the Case, what was there left to keep the People in Obedience, but the Administration of temporal Rewards and Punishments by an extraordinary Providence?

I will here beg leave to transcribe a Passage from the Lord Bishop of *London's* Discourses on Prophecy. " You see now (says this learned Prelate) upon what Foot all the Prophecies in the Old Testament stand, which relate to the temporal Concerns of the *Jewish* Nation; you see likewise the Reason why this Kind of Prophecy has ceased in the *Christian* Church. The Gospel is not founded in temporal Promises.—*The bringing in of better Hopes* has vacated the Promises of the *Mosaic* Covenant, and 'tis expected of us after so much Light given, that our Faith should be Proof against the Adversities of the World, without the Help of a Prophet to foretel, or to reveal to us, in every Instance, the Counsel of God." p. 136, 137. *Ed.* 4.

In this Passage his Lordship delivers, as Truths, both the *Principle* and the *Conclusion* of the Argument of the *D. L.*—and, what is more, he delivers them as having a strict and real Connexion with one another. 1st. He plainly supposes that these better Hopes, the Hopes of a future State, subsisted not with the temporal Promises of the Law, but were brought in under the Gospel; which is to avow Mr. *W.'s* *Principle*, and to own, with him, that the *Jews* had not the revealed Doctrine of a future State. A Notion inoffensive, it seems, and orthodox, when advanced by his Lordship; but loaded

loaded with Execration, even by his Lordship's Friends and Followers, when found in the *D. L.*

2. His Lordship supposes, that temporal Promises and an *extraordinary* Dispensation were necessary under the Law, because the *better Hopes* of the Gospel were not yet brought in; which is to avow Mr. *W.*'s *Conclusion*, and assert, with him, the Reality of an extraordinary Providence amongst the early *Jews*.

3. Since his Lordship supposes an *extraordinary* Dispensation necessary to supply the Want of these *better Hopes*, he must suppose that there is a natural and proper Connexion between the *Principle* and the *Conclusion* of the said *D. L.*

In the next Place, let me observe, that *several* of our most eminent and considerable Writers, had they been *uniform* and *consistent* with themselves, must have agreed with the Author of the *D. L.* in affirming, that the *Mosaic* Religion was supported merely by the Administration of temporal Rewards and Punishments, exclusive of the Prospect of a future State.

What other Foundation does the Lord Bishop of *London* leave it, when he tells us, that the *better Hopes* of the Gospel subsisted not with the temporal Promises of the Law, but were *brought in* by the Gospel.

In another Place he observes, that "all the Promises and Threatenings of the Law are temporal, *suitable to the Age and Season of the World.*" p. 132.

What can his Lordship mean by this? I would humbly ask, whether the *Jews* were properly qualified and prepared for the Doctrine of a future State? If they were, how can it be said, that *temporal Promises and Threatenings were most suitable to this Age and Season of the World?* If they were not,

not, his Lordship sure will not say that it *was revealed* to them : For it must give one a strange Idea of the Administration of Providence, to suppose, that it would reveal a Doctrine at a Period when the People were not qualified and prepared to receive it. In a Word, the Passage appears unintelligible, unless it goes on the Supposition, that the *Jews* had not the Knowledge of a future State. For what can be meant by saying, that temporal Promises and Threatenings were most suitable to this Age and Season of the World, if the *Jews* were then in Possession of, or ripe for, the Doctrine of a future State ?

“ The Prophecies, from which the Resurrection of Christ is inferred, (says the Bishop) were obscure and dark, from a seeming Inconsistency between the several Parts of them. It is foretold, that Christ should be *despised and rejected of Men*, a Man of *Sorrows and Afflictions* ; that his Affliction should pursue him even to the *Grave*.” And ’tis also foretold, that, “ notwithstanding these Sufferings, and a wretched Death, he should *prolong his Days*, and have an *everlasting Kingdom*, and see the Work of the Lord prosper in his Hands. These Prophecies are not at all plainer now than they were in the Beginning : But the plain Sense appeared at that Time loaded with Contradictions ; here was one born to *Misery and Affliction*, and yet he was the Heir of an *everlasting Kingdom* : He was *condemned, executed, laid in the Grave*, and *after all this*, he was to *prolong his Days*, and see the *Work of the Lord prosper in his Hands*. The Resurrection of Christ reconciled all these Difficulties and seeming Inconsistencies ; and we now readily admit these Prophecies in their plain, literal Sense ; which was a very plain Sense before,

H

“ tho’

“ tho’ a very hard one to be imagined or believed.”

p. 34, 35.

Since his Lordship supposes the *Jews* to have been puzzled and perplexed with these Circumstances, he must suppose they had no Notion or Conception of any Kingdom to be erected by the Messiah, but one purely temporal. For how could the Knowledge of his Death lead them to imagine that no Kingdom, Power, or Dominion was assigned him in Heaven? Especially if they looked upon Death as a Passage conducting the Good and Virtuous to a State of Happiness and immortal Glory.

The *Affliction*, *Misery*, and *Death*, predicted of the *Messiah*, might seem inconsistent with the Notion of a temporal Kingdom, but could not embarrass and distress Men who had been trained and educated in the Persuasion and Belief of a future State, in which their Messiah might erect a future Kingdom, spiritual and heavenly.

Nothing therefore but the Ignorance of the true Nature of Christ’s Kingdom, arising from their Ignorance of a future State, would make the *Jews* fancy that these Prophecies were loaded with the Contradictions mentioned by his Lordship.

Again, “ the Blessings belonging to the special Covenant, given to *Abraham* and his Seed, were reserved to be revealed in God’s appointed Time. The Prophets under the Law could not be commissioned to declare these Blessings openly and nakedly, without anticipating the Time of their Revelation. Hence it is that the Predictions, concerning Christ and his Kingdom, are cloathed in such Figures as were proper to raise the Hope and Attention of the People, without carrying them beyond the Bounds of Knowledge, pre-
“ scribed

“ scribed by God to the Age of the *Jewish* Cove-
 “ nant.” P. 129, 130.

From which I can deduce no other Doctrine but this, that the *spiritual* Blessings of the *Gospel* were hid under the *carnal* ones of the *Law*. And that in the Prophecies, the Messiah is described under the Character of a mere temporal Deliverer, and not as what he proved to be, at the Fulness of Time, the Author of Salvation and eternal Life; which is the precise Doctrine of the *Divine Legation* *: And thus, according to his Lordship's own Reasoning, it will follow, that *Moses* and the Prophets did not preach up the Doctrine of another Life. Had they done this, they must either have affirmed that future Happiness was annexed to the Obedience of the Law, or promised to Faith in Christ. His Lordship will not say, they asserted the *first* Notion, because he contends that the Sanctions of the Law were purely temporal. He will not say, they asserted the *second* Notion, because he supposes that the *Messiah* was revealed to them under the Character of a mere temporal Deliverer, and not as the Author of Redemption and eternal Life.

Bishop *Bull*'s Opinion on this Matter, (which he took from *Grotius*) was, “ That there was a two-
 “ fold Manner of Teaching among the antient
 “ *Jews*; one suited to *vulgar* Apprehensions, the
 “ other to those who had made some *Proficiency* in
 “ Knowledge: To these *latter* he assigns the teach-
 “ ing of the Doctrine of a future State, till the

* It may be objected that his Lordship, in some Parts of his Discourses, supposes the *Jews* to have been in Possession of the revealed Doctrine of a future State. I shall not trouble myself to enquire whether he does or not. The Point before us is not to make him consistent, but to shew that he has asserted Doctrines perfectly conformable to the Principles of the *Divine Legation*.

“ Time of the Captivity ; after which, he says, it
“ lay open to all in common.” *

This is plainly supposing, that the *Doctrine* was
concealed from the Multitude or gross Body of the
People ; who consequently had nothing to restrain
and keep them in Order, but the Dispensation of
an extraordinary Providence ?

This learned Bishop divides the *Jews* into two
Classes ; one of them ripe for the *Doctrine*, and the
other not ; which other could be none but the
Body of the People : Otherwise what occasion
could there be to make the *Doctrine* private and
esoteric ? †

Accordingly he observes, that it was not taught
promiscuously, or exposed and laid before the Peo-
ple in common, till the Time of the *Maccabees*.

He plainly supposes, that the more early *Jews*
had no other Hopes than of temporal Happi-
ness and Prosperity ; no other Fears than of tempo-
ral Loss and Misery. § *Gens Judaica solita ea tantam
audire, quæ in sensum caderent.*

It is allowed on all Hands, that the *Doctrine* of
a future State is more especially useful and neces-

* Stebbing's Examination, p. 125.

† *Harmonia Apostolica. Dissertatio posterior. Sect. 10, 11, 12.*

§ *Si causam quæris, cur ab exilio primum Babylonico doctrina
hæc arcanis Judæorum eruta, in apicum prolata fuerit, rationem
satis ingeniosam atque accommodam reddit Grotius. Nempe grave
tum periculum imminebat, ne gens Judaica solita ea tantum audire
quæ in sensum caderent, ablato imperii sui splendore, gemens sub
externo dominatu, damni, cruciatus, mortis denique metu sollicita,
a veri dei cultu deficeret ; adeoque plane necessarium erat, ut popu-
lus adversus tentamenta præmuniretur : Quod fieri satis non pote-
rat, nisi palam dei causa morientibus proposita spe vitæ melioris,
nec fructu suo caruit, ista doctrina. Hac enim *ἡρώδης ἀριστάρχης*
spe animati Macchabæicis temporibus quamplurimi, pro legis
studio exquisitissimas mortes pertulerunt, ut Macchabæorum Historia
nos docet, & a scriptore Epistolæ ad Hebræos loco modo laudato
annotatum est. Sect. 12.*

fary with regard to the common People: And yet, according to *Grotius* and Bishop *Bull*, it was more especially secreted and concealed from them.*

But

* But here Dr. *Stebbing* informs us, that Bishop *Bull* sometimes supposes the Body of the *Jews* to have had the Knowledge of a *future State*, and in his *Sermons* speaks of it as a popular and common Doctrine. What are we to conclude from thence? That he did not speak his real Sentiments in his Latin Works, when he expressly affirms, after *Grotius*, that a *future State* was a private esoteric Doctrine, not imparted to the Body of the People? Or should we not rather think, that he himself had a two-fold manner of teaching, like his antient *Jews*? Or at least, was various and inconstant? Let the Doctor take which Solution he likes best. No, he will take neither; but seriously affirms, the good Bishop was consistent throughout. We should be hardly thought serious, if we set ourselves formally to prove that teaching privately and secretly to a few, and openly and publickly to all, was one and the same Thing.

But if the Doctor will needs have his Bishop consistent, he must of course espouse what he borrows from *Grotius*, and will be answerable for the Consequences.

By his Leave then I will propose the following Queries to his Consideration.

1st, The Bishop affirms, that a future State was one of the *hidden Mysteries of the Law*, and was *doubtfully* and *ambiguously* revealed by *Moses*. But why was this Doctrine *ambiguously* and *mysteriously* expressed, if it was necessary to be known and understood by the meanest of the People, as being the great Foundation and Support of the Religion of those Times?

2d, Since his Lordship asserts that this was a private and esoteric Doctrine, he must of course maintain, that it was secreted from *some Part of the People*. But why was a Doctrine, necessary to be known and understood by *all*, secreted from *any*?

3d, If we ask from whom it was secreted; he must say, from the meanest and lowest of the People. But what Provision then was made for the *faeces Romuli*; or how was Religion to be supported among the gross and unthinking Multitude? Had the more liberal and knowing Sort of the *Jews* more Need and Occasion for this Doctrine than the Vulgar and Illiterate?

4th, What, after all, was the real Incapacity and Defect, which made the lower Sort of the *Jews* unable to bear the Doctrine of a future State?

But to proceed with our Doctor. The Difference between him and Mr. *W.* is not so great as may be imagined.

The better to judge of this, let us attend to two of Mr. *W.*'s principal Assertions.

1. He supposes that the great *End* and *Design* of the *Jewish* Dispensation was to preserve the Memory of the one true God, amidst a World over-run with Polytheism and Idolatry. A *Design*, according to him, worthy the divine Interposition, and becoming the Wisdom and Goodness of God.

2. He supposes that the extraordinary Providence exercised under the Law was sufficient for this Purpose, or was an adequate and proper *Means* of attaining this End.

Now these two Points have been strenuously asserted by the Doctor, in his Answer to *Christianity as old as the Creation*, p. 56. he affirms, "That preserving the Knowledge of the true God, and his Worship among the *Israelites*" was an *End* worthy the divine Interposition, or "becoming the Wisdom and Goodness of Providence."

P. 58. he says, "It is no hard Matter to understand how those should be rescued from the general Corruption," (or enabled to retain the Notion of the Unity,) "who were under the immediate Direction of God, who manifested himself to them by the Voice of his Prophets; and by a great Variety of extraordinary and uncommon

5th, It is affirmed by the Bishop, that *holy* and *excellent* Men under the Law would have lived and died like *Swine*, if they had not had the Prospect and Expectation of a future State. Would not every *Jew* likewise, whether holy or unholy, have lived and died like a *Swine* without the same Prospect? If they would, why was the Knowledge of a future State concealed from any one?

" Events,

“ Events, gave them incontestable Evidence of his
“ Presence among them.”

Has not the Doctor therefore affirmed, 1st, that the *End* proposed was worthy the divine Interposition; 2d, that the *Means* employed were sufficient for attaining this *End*?—He has therefore asserted *the two Points* which constitute the main Argument of the *D. L.*

The great and popular Objection to this Argument, is, that a religious System, which contains not the Doctrine of a future State, or does not reveal the chief Good and Happiness of Man, can answer no *End* or Purpose worthy the Interposition of God. But here Dr. *Stebbing* turns Advocate for the Argument of the *D. L.* and affirms, that an *End*, worthy the divine Interposition, might be effected and accomplished by a mere temporal Dispensation, or by the present Rewards and Punishments that were administered under the Law.

But I have not yet done with the Doctor's System.

It is affirmed by the Deists, 1st, that the *Jews* were not under a divine Dispensation, because they were not in Possession of the Doctrine of a future State.

2d. That the extraordinary Providence, represented in the Old Testament, was not really administered.

In Opposition to this Dr. *Stebbing* contends, 1st, that the *Jews* had the Knowledge of a future State.

2d. That an extraordinary Providence was actually exercised and dispensed under the Law.

But does he not perceive, that by asserting *his first Point*, he puts the Deists in full Possession of *their second*? For if the *Jews* had the Knowledge of another Life, or any certain Persuasion and Belief

of a Futurity, he himself owns that an extraordinary Providence would not be necessary.

There seems therefore to be no Connection nor Harmony between the two *grand Principles* of the Doctor's System; which, certainly, was in *great Confusion* long before the Publication of the *Divine Legation*, altho' he has been pleased to accuse the Author of that Book for putting the common System into this Condition. There must be something, then, strangely awkward in the *common Posture of Defence*, which thus leaves the *great Master of the Science* naked and open to the Attacks of his Adversary. For if the Doctor will assert against the Deists, that the *Jews* had the Knowledge of a future State, he must agree with them in asserting, that the Scripture Representation of an extraordinary Providence is false and groundless.

He plainly supposes, that an extraordinary Providence was necessary only, while the Doctrine of a future State was not clearly and distinctly revealed. The Consequence is, that he must either agree with the Author of the *D. L.* in asserting, that this Doctrine was not known under the Law; or must agree with the Deist in asserting, that the Scripture Representation of an extraordinary Providence is nothing but a pure Fiction.

Take the Argument in another Light. The Doctor contends, that an extraordinary Providence is actually represented in Scripture to have been administered. Now as he owns this to be a Scripture Doctrine, he will be obliged to defend it against Libertines and Unbelievers. But then he admits, that it can only be defended upon the Supposition that the *Jews* had not the Knowledge of a future State. He owns therefore, that the Principles of the *D. L.* are so far from being pernicious and hurtful to the Cause of revealed Religion,

ligion, that he makes them even necessary and essential to a proper and rational Defence of it.

And now let us recollect, to what the Doctor's Concessions in the present Argument will amount.

1st, He allows that the Notion of an extraordinary Providence is a Scripture Doctrine, and is to be defended against the Objections of Libertines and Unbelievers.

2d, He owns, that the Principle of the *D. L.* is sufficient for this Purpose, or that it will support the Truth and Reality of this extraordinary Dispensation against the Objections above-mention'd.

3d, He confesses, that the Truth and Reality of this Dispensation cannot be supported unless you adopt this Principle.

Does not he himself, therefore, direct us to assume the *new Posture of Defence*, in order to establish the Truth and Reality of this extraordinary Providence?

There is another Objection to the Doctor's System.

The great Principle upon which he goes in his Pamphlets against the *D. L.* is, That the Doctrine of a future State is a fundamental and necessary Part of the *Jewish* Religion.

But all Protestants hold this in common, that necessary and fundamental Doctrines ought to be plainly and clearly revealed, so as to lie level and open to the meanest and lowest Understanding.

The Deists, therefore, will be thus apt to expostulate, "You pretend, that a future State is a fundamental and necessary Part of the *Jewish* Religion.—You pretend too, that all fundamental and necessary Doctrines are plainly and clearly revealed. It will therefore be incumbent on you to shew, that this Notion of a future State was plainly and clearly revealed in the Books of *Moses*, and delivered in so perspicuous

ous a Manner, as to be obvious to a carnal, worldly-minded *Jew*. Otherwise you must allow, that the *Mosaic* Religion is chargeable with an Imperfection and Defect, which cannot belong to any of God's Revelations.²²

Now, since the Doctor contends, in his *polemic* Works, that a future State was not clearly and distinctly revealed at the Time in question, he will hardly be able to acquit himself against this Objection.

A full, open, and accurate Revelation of this Doctrine will appear to have been more particularly needful, if we consider the real Character and Circumstances of the *Jewish* People at this Period, as they are represented by our ablest Writers.

'Tis the Language of Divines in general, that the *Grossness of their Understandings* disabled them from supplying any Thing which was not *expressly* commanded in the Law. Now if the Dulness and Stupidity of the People required that every *minute Particular* should be plainly and *expressly* mentioned; one would imagine, that a future State, the most necessary and important of all Doctrines, should have been plainly and *expressly* mentioned too.

To this Divines add, that the *Jews* were extremely carnal and worldly-minded, and not at all disposed to raise and elevate their Thoughts above the Consideration of the present Life. Now a People thus grossly inclined would not be able to see and discern the Doctrine of a future State, unless it was delivered in the most plain and obvious Terms: Dark, mystical, and figurative Representations of a future State (such as occur in the Pentateuch) would amount to much the same Thing as no Representation at all.

The Deists object, that the *frequent Repetitions* in the Law are needless and jejune. To this our Divines reply, " A People of an unthoughtful and
" restless

“ restless Disposition, prone to Forgetfulness of the
 “ most awakening Mercies and Providences, and
 “ going now to settle in a Neighbourhood where
 “ they would be surrounded with the utmost Temp-
 “ tations and Allurements to false Religion, and
 “ Apostacy from the Laws and Worship of the *true*
 “ God, could never be too often reminded of their
 “ Obligations; but on the contrary, wanted the
 “ most frequent Inculcations of the Particulars of
 “ their Duty, and of the Arguments that were most
 “ pressing to Obedience.” *

If a frequent *Inculcation of the Arguments most pressing to Obedience* was necessary, this would lead one to conclude, that the Doctrine of another Life ought to have been frequently *inculcated* in these Books. And how could this *Argument* have been properly impressed upon such a People, but by plain and explicit Declarations of future Rewards and Punishments?

Some late Writers have affirmed, that the Light of Revelation was almost extinct among the *Israelites* in the Time of *Moses*; and that only some faint Remnants and dying Flames of the patriarchal Religion were existing at that Season. We are told, that this People had been long sinking into the Superstitions and Idolatry, as well as into the Bondage of the *Egyptians*, and, at that Time, remembered so little of God’s *Revelations* to their Forefathers, that they knew nothing even of his *Nature and Attributes*.†

Now,

* *Pyle on Deuteronomy.---Critical and practical Exposition, &c.*

† According to the learned Mr. *Shuckford*, *Moses* himself was so far from being perfectly acquainted with the Revelations made by God to his Fore-fathers, that he would not have been able to form true and proper Notions of the divine Being, had he not been favoured with a particular Revelation for this Purpose, v. 2. p. 383.

I shall

Now, if this was the Case, a plain, open, and explicit Revelation of a future State would have been highly seasonable and expedient, or, rather, absolutely necessary, had it been intended by Providence to be the great Foundation and Support of the Religion of those Times. For the Writers last quoted plainly suppose, that the Notion of a Restitution and Redemption from the Curse of the Fall, was expiring and near lost at this Period.

According to them, the great End of the *Mosaic* Institution was to revive the Knowledge and Memory of the Promises made to the Patriarchs, and to acquaint the *Israelites* with the great Blessings and Advantages which were to be derived from one of the Descendants of *Abraham*. And how could this End be effectuated, but by placing the Patriarchal Revelations in a full, open, and distinct Light?

Let us here then recollect how the Argument stands. Dr. *St.* affirms, that a future State was a necessary and fundamental Article of the *Jewish* Religi-

I shall not pretend to say, that *Moses* was so wretchedly ignorant as such Writers here represent him; I would only observe, that, even according to our most orthodox Divines, the Body of the *Israelites* at this Time had lost all Memory and Notion of the Revelations made to their Forefathers.

Calmet, speaking of the *Israelites* of this Age, says, Nourris depuis long-tems dans un pays corrompu & idolatre, abbatu par de rudes travaux, abrutis par une longue servitude, ils avoient des sentimens proportionnez à la bassesse de cette education. L'Oppression dans laquelle ils gémissoient leur avoit presque fait oublier la Religion de leurs ancêtres; ils s'étoient laissé aller, à la Religion dominante, ils y avoient pris gout, elle étoit proportionnée à leur genie, elle étoit conforme à leur inclination. L'on doit faire attention à tout cela pour bien entrer dans le dessein de Moïse; il a dû se rabbaïsser à la grossiereté de ce peuple, & avoir quelque égard à ses préjuges; il a valu suppléer à ce qui manquoit à son éducation; lui rappeller dans l'esprit les promesses faites à ses peres, &c. Preface sur le Pentateuque, p. 10.

See too Waggenfeil, v. 1. p. 582, 3. Car. Lip. conf.

on.—As a good Protestant, he affirms too, that all fundamental and necessary Doctrines ought to be fully and plainly revealed:—And certain Circumstances arising from the peculiar Genius and Situation of the *Israelites* made such a Revelation more peculiarly needful at this Time. And yet, after all, the Doctor asserts, that it was *not* clearly and distinctly revealed by *Moses*.

How then will he satisfy the Deists, when they ask, why it was not clearly and distinctly revealed?

It has been observed too, that some of our best and ablest Writers agree in asserting, that the Doctrine of a future State was not sufficiently manifested and revealed by *Moses*; that nothing but dark, mystical, and ænigmatical Representations of another Life, far above the Reach and Capacity of the common People, were delivered by him. How then shall we account for this Circumstance, if we go upon the common Supposition, that this Doctrine was the great Foundation and Support of the Religion of those Times?

Let us now examine a few of the Passages which have been produced to shew, that the Doctrine was revealed in the Books of *Moses*.

If we call upon Dr. *Stebbing* to specify and point out the Passages in which it is revealed, he refers us to the *Abrahamic* Covenant, recorded in the Book of *Genesis*.—

Behold my Covenant is with thee, and thou shalt be a Father of many Nations, and I will make thee exceeding fruitful; and I will make Nations of thee, and Kings shall come out of thee; and I will establish my Covenant between me and thee, and thy Seed after thee in their Generations, for an everlasting Covenant, to be a God unto thee, and to thy Seed after thee. And I will give unto thee, and to thy Seed after thee, the Land wherein thou art a Stranger, all the Land of Canaan,

Canaan, xvii. 4, 6, &c. Since the Revelation of the *Mystery of Redemption* in the Gospel, we discern indeed, without much Difficulty, that it was implied in this Covenant. But this is nothing to the Purpose. The Question is, whether it was so plainly and clearly revealed in *Genesis* as to lie open to the Observation and Notice of the *Israelites* in the Time of *Moses*.

The *Covenant* contains a plain and evident Promise of some great Blessing; but says not one Word of a Redemption and Restoration from the Curse of the Fall. It is allowed by Writers of the first Distinction, such as *Episcopius* and *Limborch*, that they contain the Promise of this Blessing only in a *spiritual*, *secondary*, and *mystical* Sense.

It will then probably be admitted, that the Doctrine of the Redemption was *mystically conveyed* under these Words, which, in their primary and literal Sense, promise only temporal Blessings. But will any one say, the antient *Jews* had such quick and piercing Apprehensions, that they were able to penetrate into the deep and mystical Senses of the antient Prophecies? Dr. *Stebbing* himself affirms, that the spiritual Meaning of the typical and secondary Prophecies was not, and even *could* not be perceived and understood by the antient *Jews*.*

Thus the Doctor refers us (as a Proof that the early *Jews* had the Doctrine of a future State) to the Covenant made with *Abraham*, which Covenant contains the Doctrine of Redemption only in a mystical, figurative, and secondary Sense: And this

* He affirms, that the Types and secondary Prophecies contain "certain Points relating to the *future* (Christian) Dispensation, which it was the *Intention* of Providence to *conceal* till "the Age of that Dispensation should come." *History of Abraham*, p. 64.

Sense he himself assures us, was unknown to the Body or Generality of the *Jewish People*†

It has been alledged, that God revealed the Doctrine of a future State, when he declared himself *the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob*, after they were dead.—Our Saviour's Interpretation of these Words is supposed to strengthen and confirm this Notion. *Matt. xxii.*

But to bring these Texts home to the Purpose, it must be shewn, that the Sense *Jesus* gave to the Words of *Moses* was the Sense the early *Jews* put upon it. So far from that, it appears that the *Jews*, with whom *Jesus* was here conversing, thought of no such Sense. For as Mr. *W.* truly observes, “ it “ has all the Marks of a *new* Argument, unknown “ to the *Pharisees*; and indeed both the *Dignity* of “ our Lord's Character, and the *Impression* he would “ make on his Opposers, seem'd to require it. Ac- “ cordingly we find them struck dumb; and *the “ Multitude that heard this, astonished at his Doctrine.* “ But would either have been so affected with an “ old Argument, long hacknied in the Schools or “ Synagogues of the *Pharisees*? ” *Div. Leg. v. 2. p. 571. 1st Edit.**

It has been alledged too, that Blessings were promised to the Righteous in the Books of *Moses* in very comprehensive and general Terms, which must

* “ Where is this Covenant of everlasting Life to be found? “ Not in the Prophets, nor in the Writings of *Moses*; except it “ be in the *Abrahamic Covenant.*” Examination, p. 114.

† “ From the Words of *Moses* cited by our Saviour, the “ Doctrine of a future State may as clearly be deduced as from “ any one single Text which can be produced out of any one “ of the Prophets.” *Fortin's Remarks on Eccles. Hist.* p. 261.

But if this be true, and that the present Text conveys as plain and clear Intimations of a future State as any Passage in the Prophets, it will be to no Purpose to look for any plain Revelation of this Doctrine in the Writings of the Prophets.

be

be supposed to include future Happiness as well as present. Thus God declares to *Abraham*, "I am thy Shield, and thy exceeding great Reward." *Genesis* xv. 1.

I shall make no Scruple to acknowledge that these Words, in the Intention and Design of Providence, did comprehend the Promise of future and spiritual Blessings, as well as present and temporal: But one can hardly think the *Jews* could understand them in any other than a temporal Sense. This seems to have been the Opinion of the late Bishop *Bull*.—*Promissa autem hæc typica & generalia, non addita aliunde interpretatione, pene impossibile erat, ut quis isto sensu intelligeret. Fieri vix potuit, ut quis generalia ista promissa aliter quam ut cumulum bonorum specialium continentia intelligeret, aut ultra vitæ hujus spatium extenderet. Harmonia Apostolica, C. x. Sect. 8.*

Dr. Stebbing seems to triumph greatly in the following Passage, "Search the Scriptures, for in them ye think ye have eternal Life, and they are they which testify of me." *John* v. 39.

According to *Mr. Warburton*, this Doctrine is to be assigned to the *Jews*, and not to *Jesus*; for all we can collect from the present Text, is, that the *Jews* believed they had eternal Life in their Scriptures. Now this, he adds, could not be a true Doctrine, since it would make "the Mission of *Jesus* entirely vain, as being superseded by that of *Moses*." In order to strengthen and confirm this Interpretation, I must observe, that these Words are addressed to the *Pharisees*, who pretended that the Promise of eternal Life was made by the Law.* How such a Supposition, according to

* Quia vos putatis in ipsis vitam habere æternam. Etiam plus æquo illis tribuitis. Existimatis enim legis præcepta observantibus

to the Doctor's own Reasoning, would make the Gospel superfluous, and unnecessary. He must affirm therefore, with the Author of the *D. L.* that our Saviour did not suppose, with the *Pharisees*, that they had eternal Life by the Law.

However, the Doctor infers from hence, that the Notion of a future State was revealed to the *Jews*. It has often been alledged in Support of this Doctrine, and the Stress of the Argument has commonly been laid on the following Words, "In them ye think ye have eternal Life."—But the Doctor now chuses to abandon the *old Posture of Defence*, and rests his Argument on these Words, "And they are they which testify of us." Our Saviour, according to the Doctor, appeals to the Scriptures as testifying that he was the Author of eternal Life. "Could the Scriptures (says he) testify that eternal Life was to be had in Christ, if they contained not the Promise of eternal Life; is not saying, that eternal Life is to be had in Christ *itself* a Promise of eternal Life." *Examination*, p. 93.

tibus promitti vitam æternam atque ita directe eam vitam illis libris contineri.—Nota non cum Sadducæis; sed cum Phariseis hic remesse, qui legem vocabant fontem vitæ, & de vita æterna accipiebant locum. Deuteronomii xxxii. 47.

Episcopus too observes upon this Passage in the following Manner: *At inquam, hoc non est adferre claram promissionem, de qua queritur, SED TANTUM OPINIONEM JUDÆORUM; & opinionem quidem, quam a Christo probari isto in loco non usquequaque certum est. Musculus in locum illum annotat hæc verba; ecce populus Judæorum zelo dei præditus, opinione acquisitæ vitæ æternæ falsus est. Non dicit, quin vitam æternam in illis habetis: Sed; quia VIDEMINI VOBIS vitam æternam in illis habere. Maldonatus in eundem locum vult verba ista esse verba reprehendentis, hoc sensu, vos in illis veteribus scripturis ita inhæretis, ut nihil, quod in illis est, abrogandum putetis, & vos illarum cæremoniarum observatione, vitam æternam consecuturos, sed non recte; quasi dicat, vos quidem ita sentitis, EGO, ET QUI VERA SENTIUNT, NON ITA SENTIMUS.* v. 2. p. 2. pag. 304.

It will be allowed, that the Scriptures testify of *Christ*, or speak of a certain Deliverance to be procured, and a certain Kingdom to be erected by him. It will be allowed too, that this was a spiritual Deliverance or Restoration from the Curse of the Fall; and that the Privileges and Advantages of this Kingdom were spiritual and future, or a State of eternal Happiness in Heaven. But then, the present Bishop of *London* tells us, that the Scriptures of the Old Testament did not specify and point out the precise Nature of this Deliverance, or clearly manifest and reveal the particular Properties and Constitution of this Kingdom, or nakedly and openly expose the spiritual Privileges and Advantages belonging to it. On the contrary, he says, the peculiar and specific Nature of this Kingdom was so far from being opened and disclosed in the Books of *Moses* and the Prophets, that, spiritual Blessings were veiled, and mystically conveyed under the Image or Emblem of temporal and carnal Promises. The Question then will be, whether the antient *Jews* perceived and understood the spiritual Privileges and Advantages promised in the Old Testament, under the Representation and Cover of temporal and present Blessings; or, in other Words, whether they were sharp and sagacious enough to penetrate and see into the spiritual Sense of the typical and secondary Prophecies. And here, luckily, Dr. *Stebbing* himself has determined this Point for us, and declared, in this very Controversy, that the spiritual Sense of such Prophecies was not, and could not be discovered by the antient *Jews*.

It is not therefore enough that the Doctor hath shewn, that the Scriptures testify of our Saviour, or foretel his Kingdom; For they might do this without explaining the precise and specific Nature of this Kingdom, that is, the spiritual Blessings

sings and Advantages annexed to the new Covenant. And this the Doctor himself must allow; since he has asserted that to *prefigure* and *inform* are very separate and distinct Things;* and has asserted likewise, that the spiritual Sense of the typical and secondary Prophecies was a perfect Secret to the antient *Jews*.

I have no Occasion to examine the other Passages produced by the Doctor, since my present Argument requires me to prove no more, than that the Notion of a future State was not clearly and distinctly revealed in the Books of *Moses*. And this, I think, I have done; not only by the Assertions of the best and ablest Protestant Writers, but by the Confession of Mr. *W.*'s Adversaries themselves, particularly Dr. *Stebbing*, who has owned it in his polemic Works, in his *Boyle's Lectures*, and in his Pamphlets against the *Div. Leg.*†

Here then, with the utmost Seriousness, I would ask him, whether he can forbear suspecting that

* "It does not follow, that because a Thing is *prefigured*, therefore it must be *seen* and *understood* at the Time when it is *prefigured*. The Law of *Moses* was given to the *Jews*, and did *prefigure* the Gospel in many of its Appointments; which yet neither was, nor could be *understood*, till the Gospel State was introduced, when the *Resemblance* was made to *appear*." *Appendix to Examination*, p. 150, 151.

† In his *Examination* he affirms, that *Moses*, in the four last Books of the Pentateuch, says nothing but what relates to the temporal Covenant. And he owns too, that in the first Book he offers only some *few distant Hints* of a future State, p. 36, 37.

In his *Boyle's Lectures* he declares, "That we meet with *nothing express* concerning a future State, till after *Moses*. But *Solomon* plainly says, *The Dust shall return to the Earth, as it was, and the Spirit shall return to God who gave it*." *Eccles.* xii. 7. p. 58.

I shall not here examine his Interpretation of this Passage. He allows every Thing that is necessary for my present Purpose, as he allows that the Promise of a future State was not plainly and expressly revealed by *Moses*.

the Writers against the *D. L.* have laid down such Principles as will greatly hurt the Credit and Authority of the *Mosaic* Revelation, and expose it to the Contempt of Libertines and Unbelievers. These Answerers affirm, that a future State must be a fundamental and necessary Part of every Religion that comes from God: They affirm too, that fundamental and necessary Articles ought to be plainly and clearly revealed. And yet they will never dare to affirm, that a future State was clearly and plainly revealed in the Pentateuch: What is this then but giving up the Truth and Divinity of the *Mosaic* Religion?

To this, perhaps, it may be replied, that faint, imperfect, and obscure Representations of a future State, were best suited and proportioned to that Age and Season of the World. I answer, a Doctrine *necessary* to be *known at all Times* ought to be plainly and clearly revealed *at all Times*; or to be delivered in such a Manner, as to lie level to the Capacity of the meanest Understandings: So that, he who says, there was no Need for a future State to be clearly and distinctly revealed *at this Time*, must say too, there was no Need it should be known to *this People*; which is giving up the whole Cause.

It has been said, there was no Occasion for this Doctrine to be plainly revealed in the Pentateuch; that a slight and distant Notice of it were sufficient, since it was propagated and handed down to the *Israelites* from their Fore-fathers, by constant, uninterrupted Tradition. And this is the Opinion of Dr. *Steb.* who seems to think there was no particular Necessity for *Moses* to record this Notion, while his People had so able and safe a Guide as TRADITION to trust unto.*

1st.

* " Upon Supposition that the antient Faith still subsisted among them in its *full Vigour*, it was much more *natural* for
" him

1st. In virtue of this Reasoning, he leaves the *Jews* in full Possession of the Doctrine of a future State. And then what Occasion for the Exercise of an extraordinary Providence, since he himself declares, that *such* a Dispensation was only necessary in order to supply the Want of this Doctrine?

2d. Would it not greatly ennoble the Efficacy of the *Popish Tradition* to suppose, that a religious Article of so great Moment and Importance might be safely conveyed by it? It would surely be assigning it a greater Degree of Weight and Force than we are willing to allow in our Controversies with the *Papists* on this Subject.

The Dispute between us and the Church of *Rome*, is, whether *Tradition* be a safe and proper Method of conveying religious Truths. Father *Simon*, in Support of the Affirmative, has thought fit to appeal to what he, and Dr. *Stebbing*, calls a Fact, namely, that the Notion of the Resurrection and a future State were preserved in the *Jewish Church*, by the sole Power of Tradition, and no otherwise; these Doctrines, in the Opinion of the learned *Father*, not being to be found in the Old Testament. Hence

“ him to give those few distant Hints which he *has* given, than
“ needful for him to say more.” *Examination*, p. 37.

He tells us, “ That the Foot, upon which *Moses* left it, was
“ the common, national TRADITION.” 118.

“ I should therefore think, that the Doctrine of the Resurrection
“ was the *antient*, TRADITIONAL Interpretation of the *Abraham-*
“ *mic* Covenant, constantly preserved and believed, IN SOME
“ SHAPE OR OTHER, in the *Jewish Church*. p. 114.

This *antient, traditional Interpretation of the Abrahamic Co-*
venant, which constantly preserved a future State amongst the Jews
in some Shape or other, will possibly remind the less saturnine
Reader, of Lord *Peter's* Speech to his Brothers about the “ *Nun-*
“ *cupatory Will*, which was founded on their hearing a Fellow
“ say, when they were Boys, that he heard their Father's Man
“ say, that he heard their Father say, that he would advise his
“ Sons to get *Gold Lace* to their Coats, as soon as ever they
“ could procure Money to buy it.”

he infers, that *Tradition* is a proper and effectual Method of conveying religious Truths. Now if the Doctor agrees with Father *Simon* in this, that a future State was preserved in the *Jewish* Church by *Tradition*, how will he be able to prove, against the Church of *Rome*, that *Tradition* is not a safe and fit Vehicle for conveying religious Truths? If he dissents from Father *Simon's* Conclusion, I must then beg Leave to ask, why a Doctrine of so great Moment was intrusted and left to so very treacherous and uncertain a Conveyance as that of *Tradition*? For he himself allows it to be a Notion of the highest Use and Importance, since he contends that Religion would not have been able to subsist without it: And particularly, why it was thus intrusted, when it was to be conveyed to so stupid, gross, and carnal a People as the *Jews*, who were not disposed to trouble and concern themselves with any but the Things of this World?

But here lies the Joke: The *Jews* were so stupid and carnal-minded a People, that a future State delivered to them by the *written Word*, was altogether unsuited to their Understandings: But a Hint was enough to perpetuate the Notion, when conveyed upon the Sun-beam of *Tradition*.

But the Doctor will, at all Hazards, support his Point against the *Div. Leg.* and this forces him to give up the Notion of an *extraordinary* Providence, tho' he finds it in his Bible; and to contend for the Virtue of *Tradition*, tho' he knows it smacks strongly of Popery.

3d. Would it not become the Doctor to attend to the real State of the Question? The Deists ask, why the Promise of a future State was not clearly and distinctly revealed in the Books of *Moses*? The Doctor answers, that a plain, open, and explicate Revelation of this Doctrine was not necessary, since the

the People were already in Possession of it, as the common, traditionary Exposition of the *Abrahamic Covenant*. But how will the Doctor be able to satisfy *the Deists*, that the *Israelites* at this Time *had* such a common, traditionary Exposition of this Covenant?

It were greatly to be wished,* that the Patrons of the common System would look carefully into the
Jewish

* In the preceding Remarks I have observed, that the Doctrine of another Life was *not* clearly and distinctly revealed, or expressly and explicitly mentioned in the Books of *Moses*. Here then it may not be improper or unseasonable to address an Objection or two to the Consideration of the Author of *the Essay on Virtue*.

The great Point asserted by this learned Writer, is, that future Rewards and Punishments were as strictly and properly the Sanctions of the Law, as temporal. I have no Design at present to dispute whether they were or no; but will give him an Opportunity of explaining his System to more Advantage, by removing some Difficulties which seem to lie in his Way.

It is an excellent Observation of *Mr. Locke's*, that "a Law requires the *plainest* and *directest* Words." *Reasonableness of Christianity*, p. 8. 6th Ed.) or that the Rewards and Punishments annexed to it, should be delivered in the most plain, open, and explicate Terms.

Bishop *Bull*, speaking of the very same Point, says, *Promissa, præsertim Fœderi annexa, debent esse clara ac diserta, & ejusmodi, ut ab utraque parte stipulante intelligi possint. Harmonia Apostolica. Dissert. poster. c. 10. f. 8.*

Had then future Rewards and Punishments been as strictly and properly the Sanctions of the Law, as temporal, one would naturally expect, agreeable to the Principle advanced by these learned Writers, that the *first* should have been as expressly and explicitly delivered in the Law as the *last*.

Let us reflect, that Systems of Law and Religion are designed for *the Body of the People*: And is it reasonable or proper to leave the gross unthinking Multitude to search out the Sanctions of the Law and Religion, under which they live, by the Strength and Force of their own Reasoning or Conjectures, without a particular Explanation, that may serve to point out and specify the Rewards and Punishments annexed to the Observance and Neglect of the political and religious Systems? Can Dr.

Jewish Institution, and be well assured, that a future State is clearly and distinctly revealed in it, before

Rutherford produce any Instance of a Law or a Religion, whose Sanctions are not laid down in the most circumstantial, precise, and direct Manner?

There are some *particular* Reasons why the Notion of a future State should have been clearly and distinctly revealed by *Moses*, if it had been intended for the Sanction of the Law. Our best Divines tell us, that the *Jews* could not be left to themselves with regard to the most minute Particulars, "For" that the Grossness of their Understandings disabled them "from supplying any Thing that was not expressly commanded" "in the Law." If so, one would imagine, they were not to be left to themselves, in so important a Point as the Sanction of their Religion; especially if this Sanction was a *future State*, which was the least likely of all Doctrines to be supplied by a People so gross and carnal, and so strongly attached to temporal and earthly Considerations.

The temporal Motives to Obedience are *frequently* inculcated, and *often* repeated in the Law; and this, we are told, was necessary, as the particular Temper, Situation, and Circumstances of the *Jews* required that they should be constantly reminded of the Arguments most pressing to Obedience. But would not this lead one to conclude, that spiritual and future Promises should have been often *inculcated* and *repeated* too, if they had been the Sanction of the Law and Religion instituted by *Moses*?

Upon the Supposition therefore that future Rewards and Punishments were as strictly and properly the Sanction of the Law, as temporal, I would desire the Doctor to inform me, why the *first* were not enforced by *Moses* in as plain, positive, and precise a Manner as the last?

Our ablest Writers contend, that the Sanctions of a Law and Religion are to be delivered in the most plain and direct Terms. Common Sense says the same Thing: And certain Circumstances arising from the peculiar Temper, Genius, and Situation of the *Israelites*, made such an *Eclaircissement* or Explanation more particularly necessary at this Juncture.

If then the Doctor affirms, that future Rewards and Punishments were the Sanction of the Law, he brings upon himself the Necessity of proving, that they were plainly and explicitly revealed by *Moses*, or of pointing out the particular Passages in the Law, which declare that it is established on the Sanction of another

before they pretend that it is a necessary and essential Part of every Religion which comes from God.
Other-

another Life. And this seems to be no easy Task, as some very able and acute Writers have searched for this Doctrine in the Law to no Purpose. Bishop Bull, speaking to this very Point, and asserting the Sanctions of the Law to be purely temporal, says, *Si quis contra sentiat, ejus est locum dare, ubi æternæ vitæ promissio extat; quod certe IMPOSSIBILE est.* Har. Ap. Differ. poster. c. 10. f. 8.

Si speciales promissiones in fœdere ipso veteri expressæ videantur, fatendum est nullam vitæ æternæ promissionem disertam in illis reperiri. Si quis contra sentiat, ejus est locum dare ubi illa extat; quod puto IMPOSSIBILE esse. Episcopus, v. 1. p. 156.

Now if Grotius, Episcopus, Bishop Bull, Le Clerc, Curcellæus, Limborch, Sherlock, &c. could not discover the Promise of a future State in the Law as its proper Sanction; one can hardly conceive that it was so clearly and distinctly revealed by Moses, as to have been visible and obvious to a carnal and worldly-minded Jew.

"Ye shall therefore keep my Statutes and my Judgments, which if a Man do he shall live in them." Leviticus xviii. 5. Some Interpreters pretend, that eternal Life is here promised to the Doers of the Law. Upon this Le Clerc observes, *Sed præter verba Moïsi hoc est, quem saltem semel & quidem perspicue hoc dixisse oportuisset, ut posset hæc ejus explorata sententia haberi. Res quidem certe tanti erat, nec a stupida plebe divinari poterat.*

The Reasoning of this great and excellent Critic receives much Force upon the Supposition, that future Rewards and Punishments were the Sanction of the Jewish Institution. Upon this Supposition they were Articles of the highest Moment and Importance, as they were the great Foundation and Support of the Religion of this People. They ought therefore to have been plainly and clearly revealed; especially as so gross, heavy, and carnal a People would be naturally disposed to rest in the bare Letter of the Law, or to look for and expect nothing more than a long and happy Life promised in the Land of Canaan.

It is generally supposed, that the Promise of eternal Life is *mystically* and *typically* couched under the Offer of long Life made to the Doers of the Law. Here then I would ask Dr. Rutherford, whether *mystical* and *typical* Representations are a proper Method of conveying LAWS, or such Doctrines as are necessary to be known and understood by the meanest and lowest
of

Otherwise they will not only be in Danger of putting the Controversy with the Deists upon such a Footing,

of the People? Can he produce any Instance of a Law or Religion whose Sanctions were delivered under the *Cover and Veil of Types and Emblems*, unless amongst the new discovered Islands of *Pantagruel*?

The Doctor speaks of the Advocates of the Argument of the *D. L.* with great Insolence and Contempt, as being the Patrons of a new Doctrine. (*Determinatio quæst. Theol.*)

I shall not pretend to examine how far the Antiquity of any Notion may be a proper and convincing Proof of its Truth; but will only observe, that the System advanced by the Doctor in his *Essay*, which supposes, that *Life and Immortality were promised by the Law*, will derive no great Credit and Authority from the Testimony of antient Writers.

Hieronymus adversus Pelagium, qui dixerat regnum cælorum in veteri testamento repromitti, perspicuum esse inquit Regnum cælorum primum in Evangelio prædicari. Cui convenit illud Chrysostomi, legens legem, legens prophetas, legens psalterium, nunquam regnum cælorum audivi nisi in Evangelio. Quibus consentit Augustinus: Denique quod non temere dixerim, nescio utrum quisquam in illis libris inveniet nomen regni cælorum, quod tam crebro nominat dominus.

Patrum in Sinai monte factum, quod & sæpe legem vocant, promissa dicit habuisse terrena, & quidem terrena tantum. Grotius Matt. v. 19.

But if the Reader would see this Point fully discussed, I must refer him to *Vossius*, who has treated it at large. *Respons. ad Judicium Ravenspergeri, c. 23.*

The learned *Grotius* refers to this Piece, as clearly proving, that, in the Opinion of many of the Antients, the Promises of the Law were purely temporal. — *Temporalium rerum promissiones testamento veteri contineri, & ideo vetus testamentum appellari; æternæ vero vitæ promissionem Regnumque cælorum ad novum pertinere testamentum: aliquid amplius a Christo promitti quam a Mose. Loca ipsa Augustini & aliorum, ad eundem sensum pertinentia, habes apud omni laude dignissimum Gerardum Vossium contra Ravenspergerum, c. 23. — Rivetiani Apologetici discussio.*

Bishop Bull too, defending the Opinion which supposes the Promises of the Law to be purely temporal, observes, that many of the most learned Antients had espoused this Notion. *Vide Gerardi J. Vossij Resp. ad Judicium Ravenspergeri, c. 23. per totum ibi vir clarissimus ingentem testimoniorum acervum congestit*

Footings, as will oblige them to leave him in Possession of the Argument; but what is much worse, condemn, out of their own Mouths, the *Religion of Moses* as an Imposture. For if a *future State* be a necessary and essential Part of every Religion which comes from God, and yet is not to be found in the *Jewish*; what are we to conclude, but that the *Jewish* did not come from God?

But they will say, this Doctrine was clearly and distinctly revealed in the Books of *Moses*? It is easily said, but how will they prove it? They must either argue *a priori*, and conclude from the Nature and Reason of the Thing, that this was the Case, since the Dispensation would otherwise have been unworthy of God:—or they must produce some plain and express Passages out of the Pentateuch, in which this Notion is clearly and distinctly revealed.

ex veteribus, imprimis ex Augustino, quæ hanc sententiam nostram & confirmant, & egregie explicent, Respons. ad Animal. 2. p. 24.

Having mentioned Dr. Rutherford's *Determin. 2. T.* I must remind him, that a very able and judicious Prelate is involved in the Censure, which he so freely passes on all those who admit the *new* Interpretation of the Command to *Abraham* to sacrifice his Son: For the present Bishop of *London* is so far from looking upon this Comment as groundless and chimerical, that he has endeavoured to confirm and support it by a new Observation of his own, (*vid.* his Letter to Mr. *War. D. L. v. 2. ed. 2. p. 615.*) However the Doctor makes no Scruple to assure us, that nothing but the grossest *Prejudice, Ignorance, and Simplicity* could induce any one to embrace this Notion. So low did this great Prelate once stand in his Opinion.

One Passage of the Doctor seems to be particularly level'd at his Lordship. The Bishop, in *Discredit* of the old and common Interpretation, says, "I was under a Difficulty to account for this Action, [the Command to sacrifice *Isaac*] on the Foot of its being a Trial only." One can hardly help suspecting, that the Doctor had his Eye upon this Remark or Disparagement of the old Interpretation, when he says, *est genus Theologorum, qui docti ex nova quadam Disciplina, cum hujus mandati interpretationes vetustate robustas calumniando perverterint, &c.*

It

It would be weak and ridiculous to employ the *first* Method of Reasoning against the Deists, since it takes for granted the Thing in question. They will be forced then to use the latter, and produce plain and express Passages from the Pentateuch, in which a future State is clearly and distinctly revealed. But this, I presume, they will not be able to do. The Presumption is strong. The Advocates for the Perfection of the *Jewish* Law have never yet been able to do it, tho' they have been often call'd upon, and have often attempted it. And the Contrary has been held by the best and ablest Writers of all Times.*

Hitherto

* It was objected to *Episcopus* and others, by some warm Zealots of those Times, that they were guilty of little less than Blasphemy in affirming, that the Promise of a future State was not clearly and distinctly revealed in the Old Testament. And, to render them the more unpopular and obnoxious, their Adversaries took Care to add, that the contrary Doctrine had been constantly maintained by all Churches at all Times. To this *Episcopus* replies as follows: *Sive id de antiquioribus & primitivis ecclesiis sive de recentioribus intelligi velint, nihil a vero alienius. Contrarium adeo certum ac per-vulgatum est, ut non modo Ecclesiæ nullæ, sed nec Doctorum quisquam seu veterum seu recentiorum, reperiatur, qui id, quod Doctores adserunt; videlicet promissionem vitæ æternæ clare in V. Testamento facta esse, aut crediderit aut adseruerit. Nemo adeo rudis aut infans est, in scriptis veterum aut recentiorum, qui non fateri cogitur, distinctionem illam ubique occurrere, cum de discrimine V. & N. Testamenti agunt, quod in illo obscure, in hoc clare, in illo sub typis & umbris, in hoc aperte atque in terminis, promissio vitæ æternæ contineatur.*-----He proceeds to observe, that St. *Austin*, and the Writers who lived before him, suppose that the Promise was not plainly manifested and revealed in the Law.

Verum enimvero rationes videantur, quibus sententia ista tum Ecclesiarum, tum Doctorum omnium nititur, & rei veritas in propatulo erit, Primum enim Scriptura diserta affirmat, magnam salutem, id est, vitam æternam, per ipsum Christum dominum initium esse, ad Heb. ii. 2. & per evangelium ejus vitam & immortalitatem in lucem productam fuisse. 2 Tim. i. 10. Salutarem gratiam per apparitionem Christi illuxisse, (aut patefactum esse) omnibus

Hitherto I have endeavoured to shew, that Dr. *Steb.* as well as some of our most eminent and able Writers, have affirmed every Thing that need be demanded to establish and support the Argument of the *D. L.*

To which I have added some Difficulties that seem to lie against the Doctor's System.

I shall now go a Step further, and shew, 1st, That the Doctor's own Principles will oblige him to assert, that the *Jews* had *no Knowledge* of a future State; and that these Principles are the proper Spunge of the several Objections he has offer'd against the Doctrine of the *D. L.*

2d, That his own System is loaded and clogged with many Absurdities and Contradictions; and can serve only to expose our holy Faith to the Scorn, Contempt, and Ridicule of Unbelievers.

But here I find it necessary to premise something concerning the Subject of *TYPES* and *SECONDARY PROPHECIES*.

Dr. *Middleton* and Mr. *Collins* treat the Supposition of Types and secondary Prophecies as a mere Vision and Chimæra; and pretend, that these Modes of Information have no Foundation and Existence in the Old Testament.

On the other Side, our orthodox Divines assure us, that they really and actually occur in the Writings of *Moses* and the Prophets.

In order to make good this Assertion, they will be obliged to prove, 1st, That the Modes of In-

omnibus hominibus, Tit. ii. 11. Legem umbram tantum habuisse futurorum bonorum, non ipsam expressam formam rerum. Heb. x. 1. Et umbram fuisse rerum futurarum, corpus autem Christi esse. Col. ii. 17. Fœdus novum præstantioribus promissis sancitum esse. Heb. viii. 6. atque idcirco *emphatice* & *contradistincte* a lege vocari super introductionem melioris spei. vol. 2. p. 2. p. 203, 304.

formation are reasonable, just, and proper, or agreeable to the Rules of fair Criticism and sound Logic. Otherwise it would be weak and ridiculous to imagine, that they are to be found in the Works of Men divinely inspired.

2d, They must shew, that the religious Doctrines exhibited and delivered under Types and secondary Prophecies, were such as could not be opened and explained in that Age and Season of the World, without anticipating the proper Time of their Revelation determined and assigned by God. Otherwise such obscure, intricate, and mysterious Modes of Information would not have been expedient and proper under the Law, or in the Time of the *Jewish* Dispensation.

The Force of what I am about to offer depends entirely on this second Point. I must observe therefore, that Dr. *Stebbing* perfectly agrees with the Author of the *D. L.* in supposing, that the religious Doctrines, which were the Subject of the antient Types and secondary Prophecies, were not understood and apprehended by the early *Jews*, but were designedly concealed and secreted from their Knowledge; and this by being delivered under the Cover and Veil of those Modes of Information abovementioned.*

The

* Dr. *Stebbing's* Words are these, "Speaking of Types and secondary Senses of Prophecies, and the Manner in which Notice by them must be given, Mr. *Warburton* says, and he says rightly, that, the Nature of the Thing informs us it could not be directly and openly, so as to be understood by the People at the Time of giving; because this would have defeated God's intermediate Purpose, which was to train them up, by a long Discipline, under his preparatory Dispensation, *Div. Leg.* p. 633. In other Words, it would have been opening to the then present Age, those Points relating to the future Dispensation, which it was the Intention of Providence to conceal till the Age of that Dispensation should come." *History of Abraham*, p. 63, 64.

Here

The Doctor found himself obliged to adopt this Principle, that he might be enabled to vindicate and assert the Propriety and Reasonableness of Types and secondary Prophecies, and shew, that these Modes of Information were expedient and useful in the Age of the *Jewish* Covenant.

But if this Principle will enable him to justify and support the Use of Types and secondary Prophecies against the Deists, it will at the same Time force him to abandon his old favourite System, and to maintain, with the Author of the *D. L.* that the *Jews* had no Knowledge of a future State.

For he asserts, that the Doctrines shadowed and figured under the Cover and Veil of Types, were such as it was *the Intention of Providence to conceal from the then People.*

He asserts, with all our other orthodox Divines, that the Doctrine of a future State was represented and exhibited under Types in the Old Testament.

The plain and necessary Consequence of which is, that the Doctrine of a future State was not popular and common among the antient *Jews*; but was one of “ those Points relating to the *future Dispensation*, which it was the *Intention* of Providence to “ *conceal* till the Age of that Dispensation should “ *come.*”

Here I shall transcribe a Passage from the *D. L.*
 —“ From my holding that the Religion of *Moses* “ was only preparatory to that of *Jesus*, it follows, “ that all such Texts as imply a *future State of Re-* “ wards and Punishments in their *typical Significa-*

Here the Doctor affirms, in Conformity to the Author of the *D. L.* that the Doctrines exhibited under Types and secondary Prophecies, were certain Points relating to the Institution, which it was the *Intention* of Providence to conceal from the antient *Jewish* Church.

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“ tion only, are just as little to the Purpose. For
 “ if *Moses's* Religion was preparatory to one *future*,
 “ it is, as I have shewn, highly reasonable to sup-
 “ pose, that the essential Doctrine of that *new* Re-
 “ ligion was *shadowed* out under the Rites, or by
 “ the inspired Pen-men of the *old*.

“ But such Texts are not only inconclusive, but
 “ a Demonstration of the Opinion they are brought
 “ to oppose. For if *future Rewards and Punishments*
 “ were taught to the People under the Law, what Oc-
 “ casion for any TYPICAL Representation of them,
 “ which necessarily implies the throwing Things into
 “ Shade, and secreting them from vulgar Knowledge?”
 v. 2. p. 482.

This Argument is founded on two Suppositions;
 1st, that the Doctrines conveyed by Types were
 not popular and common, or known and understood
 by the antient *Jews*. 2d, that the Doctrine of a
 future State was conveyed by Types.

Since then the Doctor allows the Truth of these
 Suppositions, he allows every Thing that is neces-
 sary to establish the Argument of the *D. L.*

Take the Argument in Form. Whatever Doc-
 trines were delivered under the Cover and Veil of
 Types, were intended to be secreted and concealed
 from the then People.

The Doctrine of a future State was delivered in
 the Law under the Cover and Veil of Types.

Therefore the Doctrine of a future State was in-
 tended to be concealed and secreted from the antient
Jews.

The Doctor grants both the *major* and the *minor*,
 and yet boggles at the *Conclusion*.

I next proceed to shew, that the Doctor's Principle,
 which forces him to suppose the Doctrines exhibited
 under Types, were purposely concealed from the
 People,

People, is the proper Sponge of his various Objections to the *D. L.*

He insists strongly, that the *Jews* had the Doctrine of a future State, as the common *traditionary* Exposition of the *Abrahamic* Covenant. But if they already had this Notion *by Tradition*, why did *Moses* endeavour to conceal and secrete it from them, by involving it in Types and Figures? Or what Sense is there in supposing, that he would attempt to hide a Doctrine, with which his People, at the same Time, were perfectly acquainted? Had there been nothing delivered in Types at all, and a virtual as well as actual Silence concerning a future State in the Law of *Moses*, this might perhaps be reconcileable to his *traditional* Religion. But a *Tradition* to reveal it, and at the same Time *Types* to *hide* it, is such a *Mode* of divine Dispensation as I believe never entered into any Body's Head but *Dr. Stebbing's*. One of these two Things he must, I think, of necessity give up; either his *Abrahamic* Covenant, or his *typical* Conveyance; and either of them will do his Business, and establish the Principle of the *Divine* Legation. If he parts with his *Abrahamic* Covenant, he parts with his All: If he renounces his *Types*, he falls into the Heresy of his Adversary, that there was no future State in the Religion of *Moses*. And then adieu to the *old Posture of Defence*, when he who so long stood in the Gap has now at last slip'd aside.

Mr. War. had said, that *Moses* was *studiously cautious* on this Head. "This Opinion (replies the " Doctor) is the very *last* that my *common Sense* will " suffer me to come into." *Exam. p. 38.*

The Doctor, without Doubt, has Sense, and great Sense too; but he certainly miscalls it in giving it the Name of *common Sense*.

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The Opinion which the Doctor says is the *very last which his common Sense will suffer him to come into* is simply this, "That he who employs a very artificial Means of concealing a Thing is *studiously cautious* to conceal it." It must be an odd Sort of *common Sense* that will not *come into* a Proposition so clear, tho' it were not supported by its Reverse, "That he who was *studiously cautious* to conceal a Thing, would use the very artificial Means, in question to compass his End." Now the Doctor allows that *Types* did *conceal* the Doctrine conveyed under it; and that *Types* were the only Means of so doing.

"However, says the Doctor, tho' it may not seem *clear* and *plain*, that the *Jews* did believe a future State; *certainly* that they did *not* is impossible to be come at." p. 134.

How so! He affirms, that a future State was delivered under the Cover and Veil of *Types*. He affirms too, that the Doctrines thus delivered were not known or understood by the antient *Jews*. Has not he himself therefore pointed out the very Way, by which we may come at this *Certainty*?

The Doctor is much offended with the Author of the *D. L.* for affirming, that "*Moses* taught a future State *spiritually* and *mystically* only." p. 92. Yet he himself allows, that *Moses* did *sometimes* teach it *spiritually* and *mystically*. And would it be any Credit to *Moses's common Sense* (which I suppose to be somewhat different from the Doctor's) to affirm, that he sometimes taught it *spiritually* and *mystically*, and sometimes *literally* and *plainly*? For to what Purpose should he *bide* That, in one Paragraph of his Religion, which he *openly revealed* in another? Yet the Doctor, notwithstanding he owns *Moses* to

to have hid a future State in Types, has employed much Time and Pains very unluckily in an Attempt to prove, that the same *Moses* gave many clear and plain Intimations of this same future State. And is it for this, that the great *Jewish* Lawgiver has merited the Admiration both of Believers and Unbelievers; and that they have agreed to celebrate in joint Applauses, his consummate Skill in Legislation?

To be serious, since the Doctor allows, that the typical Descriptions of a future State were intended to hide and secrete the Doctrine, he must either load *Moses* with a weak, silly, and inconsistent Conduct, or must confess that *Moses* offer'd no plain and clear Intimations of another Life.

To suppose that the *Jews* were really ignorant of a future State, is, in the Opinion of Dr. Stebbing, a Scandal and Disgrace to Revelation, "as by the very Act of God himself, it shuts out his own chosen People (for many Ages) from that single Point of Knowledge, which could be the Foundation of a reasonable Worship." *Ex.* 132.

But did not *Moses* deliver this Doctrine to the *Jews* under the Veil of Types? And does not the Doctor himself assert, that the *Jews* were by this Means shut out from the Knowledge of it? His Censure therefore will fall at last upon *Moses*, or rather upon HIM, by whose Direction and Command *Moses* acted.

"If the Knowledge of a future State be discoverable by natural Light, it is then a Knowledge naturally fit for Man, and therefore fit at all Times and in every Age; and how is it then that you tell us, that this Doctrine, when revealed to a few, was kept secret from the many, as not yet fit for publick Discovery? Is the same Truth fit to be known, when considered as the Subject of

“ natural Enquiry, and *unfit* to be known, when
 “ considered as the Subject of supernatural Revela-
 “ tion?” p. 30, 31.

Here let the Doctor turn himself to *Moses*, and question him with the same Freedom he accosts the Author of the *D. L.* “ If this Knowledge was
 “ fit for Man at *all Times* and in *every Age*; why
 “ did you involve and wrap it up under the Cover
 “ and Veil of Types? Why so much Pains and
 “ Study to secrete a Doctrine from your People, as
 “ unfit to be known by them, when it was expe-
 “ dient and even necessary for them to have been
 “ acquainted with it?”

Moses is not here, indeed, to answer. But Mr. *W.* is. And the Doctor may, perhaps, have one sooner than he wishes, in the last Volume of the *D. L.* At present it will be sufficient to ask him, If he thinks a future State so necessary to support Religion at this Time, why it was delivered under the Cover and Veil of Types?—If it was not, what becomes of this Objection.

He tells us, “ That the worst Effect the Knowledge of a future State could have, would have
 “ been to teach the People to worship God with
 “ more *pure* and *sincere* Affection.” p. 132.

Now if the clear and open Manifestation of this Doctrine would have had no *worse* Effect, I must desire him to inform me, why *Moses* laboured to secrete it from his People, by burying it under the Cover of Types and Figures?

What the Doctor would suggest, is, that no possible Reason can be assigned for hiding and concealing this Doctrine; which, in other Words, is, that no possible Reason can be assigned to justify and vindicate the Use of Types and secondary Prophecies in the Old Testament.

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He appeals too to the celebrated Passage in the Book of *Job*,* as a certain Proof that the *Jews* had the Doctrine of the Resurrection. (p. 115.) But here he takes for granted two Points, which have been as fully proved to be false as good Reasoning can prove any Point to be so; the *high Antiquity* commonly assigned to the Book of *Job*, and the *spiritual Interpretation* commonly given to the Text quoted below. The Book being apparently written *after the Captivity*, and the Passage evidently referring to a *temporal Deliverance*.†

To their Arguments I will crave Leave to add one of my own, tho' it goes on much less solid Principles, no better indeed than the Doctor's Concessions; however we give him back the best himself affords us. I say then, if he will needs have it that this celebrated Text refers to a Resurrection, he must at least allow it to be direct and literal, not typical or figurative. But then the Difficulty, that occurred before, meets us again here; How came *Moses* to be so clear in the Book of *Job*, and so obscure in the Pentateuch? *Plain Expression* and *typical Representation* are the contrary of one another. They could not both be fit for the same People at the same Time. If they were a spiritualized People they had no Need of carnal Covers, such as Types; if they were a carnal minded People, the Light of spiritual Things would only serve to dazzle, not to aid their Sight. It is certain *Moses*

* *I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter Day upon the Earth. And tho', after my Skin, Worms destroy this Body, yet in my Flesh shall I see God; whom I shall see for myself, and mine Eyes shall behold, and not another.*

† See Archdeacon *Larv's* Considerations.—*Costard's* Observations.—*Garnet's* Dissertation on the Book of *Job*. But he who can hold out against the strong and unanswerable Reasoning of the Author of the *D. L.* on these two Points, will, I suppose, keep his *old* Opinions till his Superiors authorise him to espouse the *new*.

could never abuse his *Jews* with these shifting and contrary Modes of Information, as the Doctor has abused his Reader, unless he had the same Design, which was to confound those whom he took upon him to instruct.

Nor is the Matter mended, but made worse, by supposing the Book to be written by *Job* himself, or any other Patriarch earlier than *Moses*; that would be only transferring the Charge from *Moses* to the *God of Moses*: For while the Book of *Job* was designed for Part of the *Jewish* Canon, it was still the same unaccountable Conduct in Providence. The *Resurrection* is open and exposed to all in *Job*, and hid and covered under Types and Figures in the Pentateuch; from whence arises this noble Truth, worthy of its Inventor, "That the same Doctrine may, at one
" and the same Time, be the proper *Object* both
" of *clear* and *manifest*, and *dark* and *uncertain* Con-
" templation, to the same *Subjects*."

But the Doctor's two Suppositions, that the Book of *Job* is of the Antiquity assigned to it by the common Systems, and that the Passage in question respects the Resurrection, are not only destructive of the Doctor's other Principles, but likewise of one another.

When he supposes the Resurrection to be revealed in the Book of *Job*, he must suppose the proper Time of its *clear* and *open* Manifestation was come; and if *Moses* wrote the Book, he must suppose, that *Moses* was commissioned to publish and promulge it.—But when he supposes that this very Doctrine was delivered under dark and typical Representations in the *Law*, he must suppose the proper Time of its *clear* and *open* Manifestation was *not* yet come; and that *Moses* was not commissioned to publish and promulge it Which is, I apprehend,

the being reduced to hold a Contradiction in Terms.

Mr. *War.* laid great Stress on the *typical* Descriptions and Representations of a future State in the Old Testament; for that *a typical Representation necessarily implies the throwing Things into Shade, and secreting them from vulgar Knowledge.** The Doctor took no Notice of this Passage in his *first* Pamphlet; but he makes ample Amends for his former Silence, in his *second*, where he lays down such Principles as directly tend to establish his Adversary's Argument beyond a Possibility of Reply.

The Author of the *D. L.* alluding to this Argument, in his *Remarks*, says, "I had in vain endeavoured to teach him that a *carnal* and a *spiritual* Sense, both of which, we are agreed, the Law had, in order to fit *God's Word* to the Use of *two* Dispensations, implied an *Ignorance* of the *spiritual* Sense during the Time of the former of them." *Postscript*, p. 158, 159. But *vain* as his *first* Endeavours were, he has perfectly succeeded in his *second*; for the Doctor now owns, that the *spiritual* Sense of the antient Prophecies was not perceived and understood by the People to whom they were addressed: He plainly and ingenuously acknowledges, that the Subject of the typical and secondary Prophecies were "Points relating to the *future* (or *Christian*) Dispensation, which it was the *Intention*

* The present Dean of *Rochester*, in an excellent Sermon against *Collins*, entitled, *The sure Word of Prophecy*, observes, that typical and allegorical Descriptions were appointed and employed *to hold a VEIL before VULGAR Eyes*. p. 19.

According to this learned Man therefore, the Doctrines conveyed under them were not designed for the Use and Instruction of the Body of the People, nor consequently known or understood by them; so that the Doctrine of a future State was not popular and common among the antient *Jews*.

of Providence to *conceal* till the Age of that
 “Dispensation should come.”*

Since then he affirms, that a future State was one of the Subjects of these Types, he must own, that it was one of the Points relating to the *Christian* Dispensation, which it was the *Intention* of Providence to *conceal* till the Age of that Dispensation should come.

Thus he has at last fairly changed Sides, and turned Advocate for the Argument of the *D. L.* and in his *second* Pamphlet has utterly undone the whole Business of his *first*.

I shall now proceed to shew more at large, that the Doctor's Hypothesis is loaded with many Absurdities and Contradictions, and will serve only to expose our holy Faith to the Scorn and Ridicule of Unbelievers.

1. It seems a strong Objection to his System, that it supposes a future State to have been a popular and common Doctrine, and yet at the same Time, allows it to have been secreted from vulgar Knowledge, by being concealed under the Veil of Types. For what reasonable End could there be in hiding a Doctrine which was become popular?

2. According to the Doctor, *Moses* plainly and clearly revealed the Doctrine in the Book of *Job*, and yet endeavoured to cover and conceal it in the

* All our Divines, who hold the Law to be a typical Institution, agree, that its several Rites and Ceremonies were designed to figure and point out the Offices and Character of the Messiah, and to describe the spiritual Blessings and Advantages to be procured by his Death and Sufferings. But then some of them will have it, that these Rites were known to be thus expressive to the Body of the antient *Jews*.

I think I need not stop to shew the Absurdity of this latter Opinion; or, if it wants exposing, I may safely leave it to the Confutation of Dr. *Stebbing*, who asserts the negative, and maintains, that the Doctrines delivered under Types, *were* not, nor *could* be revealed to the antient *Jewish* Church.

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Pentateuch : Which seems to imply, that the Doctrine was, at the same Time, both *fit* and *unfit* for public Notice.

3. He asserts, that this Doctrine was necessary to support Religion at this Time. If so, it was necessary to be known by the People : Why therefore was it conveyed under mystical and typical Representations, which were intended to keep it from their Notice?

4. He tells us, that the *Israelites* were in Possession of two separate and distinct Systems of Religion ; one instituted by *Moses*, and conveyed by Writing, which had no Promises or Threatenings but what related to the present Life ; another of a more spiritual, sublime, and perfect Nature, delivered by Word of Mouth from the Patriarchs, which was established and supported on the Sanction of a future State. He pretends too, that this last was strictly and *properly* the RELIGION of the JEWS. p. 95. *History of Abraham.*

According to the Doctor therefore, future Rewards and Punishments were the Sanction of *that System*, which may be properly considered as the Religion of the *Jews*.

Now Mr. *Lock* tells us, (and common Sense says the same Thing) that “ a Law requires the plainest and “ directest Words ;” or that the Consequences of Obedience and Disobedience should be delivered and set forth in the most clear, open, and express Terms. 1. Let then the Doctor tell us, why the future Rewards and Punishments, annexed to the religious System derived from the Patriarchs, are not clearly and explicitly revealed in the Books of *Moses*. 2. Let him explain, why they were *secreted*, rather than notified and promulged ; or, in other Words, why they were delivered under the Veil of Types. Whatever Doctrines might require a dark

and obscure Delivery ; yet surely the Sanctions of a religious System could not. Here, plain, open, and direct Explanations are more particularly needful and requisite : if indeed they be needful and requisite in any Case.

5. One would imagine that the Doctor had no other View in writing his second Pamphlet, than to encumber and clog his own System with additional and fresh Difficulties. According to him, the grand Design of the whole *Mosaic* Economy was to perpetuate and preserve the Memory of the *Abramic* Covenant, or the Promise of Life and Immortality revealed to this holy Patriarch. *p. 80. History of Abraham.*

Upon this Supposition, one would naturally and reasonably expect, that the Promise of Life and Immortality should have been opened in the plainest and most direct Words. For if any one Point was to be fully and clearly revealed, it was surely *that* which made the principal Purpose of his Mission.

On the contrary, the Doctor assures us, that he involved and wraped it up under the Shadow and Veil of Types ; or, in other Words, endeavoured to secrete and hide it from his People. According to this System therefore, *Moses* seems to have forgot the very End of his *Legation*, as he was industrious to cover and conceal the Principle, which should have been openly published and promulged to all.

6. The Doctor will be utterly unable to defend the Use and Reasonableness of Types and *secondary Prophecies* against the Objections of Unbelievers, unless he quits and abandons the old System, and goes upon the Supposition, that the *Jews* had no Knowledge of a future State. He must either join with *Collins* in denying the Existence of Types and secondary Prophecies, or agree with the Author of the

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the *D. L.* in affirming, that the *Jews* had not the Knowledge of another Life.

The Deists make two Objections to Types and secondary Prophecies; 1. they pretend, that they are *unscholastic*, *illogical*, and *absurd*, and not founded upon any solid and real Principles of Reason. 2. They contend, that true Religion can have no Mysteries or Secrets to hide from its Followers. Hence they infer, that such Modes of Information were useless and unnecessary.

What I shall offer at present relates only to the last Objection; the *first* having been unanswerably confuted by the Author of the *D. L.*

Now the Doctor affirms, in direct Opposition to the Objectors, that *Judaism* had certain Mysteries and Secrets, which were not to be manifested and revealed to the People; or that certain Points, relating to the *Christian* Dispensation, were to be secreted and concealed, during the Period of the *Mosaic* Institution. And these, he tells us, were properly conveyed under the Cover of Types and secondary Prophecies.

In order to vindicate the Propriety, Reasonableness, and Use of Types, or to shew that these Modes of Information were expedient and useful under the Law, he finds himself obliged to assert, that the Doctrines conveyed by them were such as could not be clearly revealed in that Age and Season of the World; or were certain *Mysteries*, relating to the *Christian* Dispensation, which were to be kept secret and hid till the Time of that Dispensation should come.

This Reasoning the Doctor borrow'd from the Author of the *D. L.* and transferred into his own System, unconscious that it would necessarily lead him to deny the *Jews* the Knowledge of another Life. And yet it unavoidably does so, since he affirms,

affirms, that a future State was exhibited and represented under *Types* in the Writings of *Moses* and the *Prophets*.

Should he indeed suppose, that the Doctrines revealed by *Types* were popular and common, he will be under no Necessity of supposing, that a future State was not a general and current Opinion among the *Jews*: But then he will leave Mr. *Collins* in Possession of the Argument; since, upon this Supposition, he will never be able to account for the Use of so dark, obscure, and mystical a Mode of Information as that of *Types*.

It will therefore be necessary for him either to assert, with the Author of the *Grounds and Reasons*, that there are no *Types* in the Old Testament; or to affirm, with the Author of the *D. L.* that the *Jews* had not the Knowledge of a future State. And since he must of Course agree with one of them, I can only say, I wish him a good Choice.

The Doctor, when in Dispute with the Deists, (who object, that the *Jewish* Religion is not worthy of God, because it did not contain the Doctrine of a future State) affirms, that *the Doctrine of a future State was known to the Jews*.

But when they arraign the Reasonableness of *Types* and secondary Prophecies, he then asserts, that the Doctrines conveyed by these Modes of Information were not known to the People; or, in other Words, that *the Doctrine of a future State was not known to the Jews*, this being one of the Doctrines exhibited and represented by *Types*.*

Thus

* “ The whole History and Institutions of the *Jewish* People, when interpreted by Christianity, are *Types* and Prophecies of a future State: And here the Old and New Testaments confirm and illustrate each other in the strongest manner; and the Old Testament, when interpreted by the New, becomes intirely spiritual, and equally expressive, with the
“ New,

Thus the *Jews* *bad*, or *bad not* the Doctrine of a future State, as the Fit of answering requires. But can such Shuffling do any Credit to revealed Religion, or even to the Doctor's own System? Or is it to be imagined, that the Deists will suffer him to take up and lay down this Principle just as his present Exigencies require?

As for myself, I am far from having entertained any particular Prejudice, Partiality, or Fondness for the Argument of the *D. L.* Nor should I receive more Pleasure from seeing it established and confirmed, than from finding it confuted and overturned: All I demand, is, that the Doctor would oppose it in a fair and consistent manner, and not go upon the Principle, that the *Jews* had no Knowledge of a future State, in his Defence of Types and secondary Prophecies; and then condemn this very Principle as heretical and blasphemous, when affirmed by the Author of the *D. L.*

If it be a dangerous and pernicious Doctrine, Why does he make Use of such Topics as give it new and additional Force? Why does he adopt it into his own System, when he is endeavouring to repel the Objections of Unbelievers; Why does he point out and prescribe such a Method of defending Types and secondary Prophecies, as will oblige

"New, of the Doctrine of a future State." *Dr. Hartley's Observations on Man*, vol. 2. p. 394, 395.

It is affirmed here, that a future State was exhibited in the Old Testament under the Cover and Veil of Types; and yet it is affirmed, but a few Pages before, "That the Doctrine of a future State was the *current Opinion* among the *Jews*." p. 390. Now if this was a *common* and *popular* Opinion, what Sense is there in supposing that a Veil or Shade was thrown before it? Or how will this learned Gentleman be able to vindicate the Use and Reasonableness of Types against Deists and Unbelievers, as he attempts to do, p. 157, &c. if he goes upon the Supposition, that the Doctrines conveyed by them were popular and common amongst the antient *Jews*?

every

every reasonable and consistent Believer to go upon the Supposition, that the *Jews* had no Knowledge of a future State?

But if he will at last take Party, and finally insist that this Principle must be abandoned and given up, let him then shew us, how we may be enabled to assert the Propriety, Reasonableness, and Use of Types *without it*. For surely it would be going a little too far, to expect that we should receive his Hypothesis, even at the Expence of Religion, and tho' it lays us open to such infidel Objections, as overthrow all Revelation. It will be necessary for him to do this *for his own Sake*, since he affirms, in his *Boyle's Lectures*, that Types and secondary Prophecies are found in the Old Testament: So that, he will be obliged to vindicate and support the Use, Fitness, and Expediency of them against the Objections of Unbelievers.

It will be necessary for him to do this *for the Sake of the common System*; which seems to be more weak, defective, and exceptionable in that Part which relates to Types and secondary Prophecies, than in any other. For it is not to be dissembled, that our best Writers against the Author of the *Grounds and Reasons* left him in full Possession of his Argument, till the writing the *second* Volume of the *Div. Leg.* in which the first Objection to Types, of their being, in their own Nature, *unscholastic, illogical, and absurd* is confuted at large; and the *second*, that in true Religion there can be nothing which wants to be hid under the Veil of Types, is intirely overthrown by the general Principle which the *Div. Leg.* is wrote to prove and establish. I say, till that Time Mr. *Collins* remained unanswered, tho' he had more than one Antagonist of the greatest Name in Letters, besides a Number of others, who set themselves to answer the most artful and pernicious

cious Book ever wrote against Revelation, with the most becoming Zeal and Sobriety. Nor does the famous Book about the *Prophecies*, which deservedly stands at the Head of this Controversy against *Collins*, at all support itself in this Part of the Argument. The very Principles and Topics, on which that Book endeavours to establish the Reality of Types and secondary Prophecies, do prove the very contrary; and will, if admitted, plainly and clearly shew, that these Modes of Information were not employed and made Use of by *Moses* and the Prophets.

On the other Hand, it is as remarkable, that Dr. *Middleton*, who concurs with *Collins* in exploding and discarding these Modes of Information, yet goes upon such Principles as will oblige him to suppose the Reality of them.

On the whole, I conceive, that the Author of the *D. L.* may safely rest the whole Controversy with his *believing* Adversaries upon the Merit of the single Argument here enforced: For it will not be possible to vindicate the Use and Propriety of *Types*, unless we suppose, that the Doctrines represented and exhibited under them were such as could not be opened and revealed in the Time of *Moses* and the *Prophets*. And this will finally lead us to conclude, THAT A FUTURE STATE WAS ONE OF THE GREAT GOSPEL MYSTERIES, KEPT HID AND SECRETED FROM THE ANTIENT JEWISH CHURCH.

I shall conclude these Remarks with a few Observations on that common and popular Objection against the Argument of the *D. L.*

“ That a Religion, which does not contain the
 “ Doctrine of a future State, would be unworthy of
 “ God, since it could afford no Comfort and Sup-
 “ port to distressed penitent Sinners, when they came
 “ to die.”

And

And here I shall pursue the same Turn of Reasoning I have hitherto employed, as the most effectual against those with whom I have to do; and shew, that several eminent and considerable Writers, and Others likewise, who have warmly opposed the Argument of the *D. L.* do suppose, that the *Jews* were left in the *same*, or a *worse* Situation, than that assigned to them by this Argument.

“ Nothing so damps Men’s Alacrity in Endeavour, as Desperation or Diffidence of good Success; nothing so quickens it as a Confidence, or strong Presumption thereof: And how then could they (the *Jews*) be very earnest in Endeavours to please God, who were not assured of (yea, had so much Reason to diffide in) God’s Placability and Readiness (upon Repentance) to forgive Sins wilfully and presumptuously committed, such as no Man surely lives altogether free from? The not opening a Door of Mercy seems discouraging, and apt to slacken Performance of Duty; what was then the shutting it up close, the bolting it with that Iron Bar, *Cursed is he that abides not in all Things written in this Law to do them?* Which, at least, will exclude Assurance, will quash the Hopes of Mercy, &c.” *Barrow’s Works*, vol. 2. p. 209. Ed. 1683.*

“ Religious

* He observes too, that God, in the Law, made no direct or express Promise of *Grace*.

This, he tells us, “ was a main Defect in that Religion; apt to breed Fear in the Onset upon Duty, to nourish Doubt in the Performance thereof, to settle Despair upon a Fall or Defect. It presented to Men’s Eyes the Obligation to Duty, the Difficulty thereof, the Danger of transgressing it; but did not openly represent the Means requisite to perform it. And what can be more discouraging or discomfoting, than to see one’s self, upon great Peril and Penalty obliged to that which is apparently very hard, or (considering his Strength) impossible,

" Religious Persons who lived before the com-
 " ing of Christ, knew that they were Sinners, and
 " that they therefore had Need of the Favour and
 " Mercy of God for the Remission of their Sins.
 " This Mercy they probably expected from that
 " promised Seed, who was to bruise the Serpent's
 " Head ; but, as hath been observed, they were but
 " *superficially* instructed in the Method by which
 " this Promise was to be fulfilled. Hence they
 " must *necessarily groan sorely under the Weight of*
 " *their Sins*; severe Curses were denounced in the
 " Law against all who should transgress it; these
 " Curses were plain and easy to be understood, but
 " the Promises of Pardon, thro' the Merits of a
 " Saviour, were more intricate and involved;
 " when therefore the Danger, which threatened
 " them, was so apparent, and the Methods of their
 " Escape were so *obscurely notified* to them, it is no
 " Wonder if *their Fears did very much over-balance*
 " *their Hopes*. Hence is it, that the Spirit by
 " which they were governed, is, in the Gospel,
 " represented as a Spirit of Bondage." *Smalbridge's*
 Sermons, p. 315, 316.

According to these learned Men, the *Jews* must
 have been so far from deriving any Comfort and
 Support from the Consideration of another Life,
 that they must have been greatly terrified, had they

" possible, no Help or Support being visible? Especially join-
 " ing the Consideration before touched, that no Evasion by
 " Pardon, no Rise by Repentance doth appear. Whence we
 " may well infer, that indeed, in Effect, this Dispensation was
 " what St. Paul calls it, a *Ministry of Death and Condemnation*;
 " a *Subjection to a Curse*; a *killing Letter*; bearing nothing less
 " in the Looks and Language thereof, than *certain Death and*
 " *unavoidable Ruin*; a lying under insupportable Slavery, both
 " to the Guilt and the Punishment of Sin." p. 210.

L

been

been perfectly assured of its Truth: For since their *Fears* would naturally over-balance their *Hopes*, they could have nothing to look for in another Life but Judgment, and divine Vengeance.

According to Mr. *Lock*, the antient *Jews* were perfect Strangers to the Gospel or Christian Doctrine of another Life, which lay concealed and hid in the mysterious and obscure Prophecies of the Old Testament.*

And he allows them no Hope or Expectation of gaining eternal Happiness by Virtue of the Law; since he affirms, that they were not equal to the Obedience, or able to discharge the Duties prescribed and required by it.†

Agreeably to this Representation of Things, he speaks of the *Jews* as “ living in perpetual Bond-

* V. Paraphrase on 1 Cor. ii. 7.

In his Note he adds, “ Whatever the Spirit of God had revealed of the Gospel during the Times of the Law, was so little understood by the *Jews*, in whose sacred Writings it was contained, that it might well be called the *Wisdom of God in a Mystery*, i. e. declared in obscure Prophecies, and mysterious Expressions and Types.”

“ Tho’ he owns the Doctrine of the Gospel to be contained in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, yet he every where teaches, that it remained a Secret there, not understood till they were led into the hidden evangelical Meaning of those Passages by the Coming of *Jesus Christ*.” 1 Cor. ii. 1.

† “ There were two Defects in the Law whereby it became unprofitable.—The one was, its inflexible Rigour against which it provided no Allay or Mitigation; it left no Place for Atonement; the least Slip was mortal; Death was the inevitable Punishment of Transgression by the Sentence of the Law, which had no Temperament.—The other Weakness or Defect of the Law was, that it could not enable those who were under it, to get a mastery over their Flesh, or fleshly Propensities, so to perform the Obedience required. The Law exacted compleat Obedience, but afforded Men no Help against their Frailty or vicious Inclinations.” *Romans* viii. 3.

" age and Dread, under the inflexible Rigour of
 " the Law, under which it was impossible for them
 " to expect aught but Death." *Romans iii, 6.*

" All the Endeavours after Righteousness of
 " those who were under the Law was lost Labour,
 " since any one Slip forfeited Life: But the sin-
 " cere Endeavours after Righteousness of those who
 " were under Grace, were sure to succeed to the
 " attaining the Gift of eternal Life." * *Romans*
vi. 2.

One of the Writers against the *D. L.* asserts the two Points mentioned by *Barrow* and *Lock*, as Arguments of the Weakness and Imperfection of the Law. *Dr. Rutherford* affirms, that the *Jews* had no Promise of the Assistance of the Holy Ghost, no Assurance that God would pardon and forgive Sins upon Repentance. And he affirms likewise, that the Want of these Advantages disabled them from fulfilling the Conditions, and discharging the Obedience, upon which the Promise of eternal Life was made to them. *c. 13.*

According to this Reasoning, the eternal Life promised in the Law, was placed out of the Reach of the antient *Jews*.

Nay, what is worse, they would have had every Thing to fear, and nothing to hope, from the Prospect of another Life. They must have been conscious that they had transgressed in some Particulars, and therefore must have been sensible that they had incurred the future Punishment threatened by the Law. Now

* I must desire the Reader to observe, that I am not here declaring any Opinion of my own, but only explaining what has been delivered and affirmed by others. The same Observation should be applied to the other Parts of this Section. — A full Answer to this popular Objection will, I am told, be given in the last Volume of the *Div. Leg.*

this terrible Apprehension of divine Vengeance, and fearful looking for of future Judgment, would have filled their Minds with more Anxiety and Uneasiness, than can be supposed to arise from the mere Ignorance of a future State.

Upon this Hypothesis therefore they would have been *all their Life Time subject to Bondage through Fear of Death*, in a much more unbounded Sense, than that asserted by the Author of the *D. L.**

* 1. This Doctor's Position, which makes eternal Life the Promise of the Law, will, I apprehend, entangle him in great and inexplicable Difficulties. For I would ask, whether the *Jews* were qualified to perform the Obedience, to which Life and Immortality were annexed by the Law? If he answers in the Affirmative, he must suppose that the Gospel was superfluous and unnecessary. *If Righteousness come by the Law, then Christ is dead in vain. Gal. ii. 21.*

If he answers in the negative, he must affirm, that the *Jews* lived under the perpetual Dread and Apprehension of divine Vengeance and future Judgment, and were left in a much more melancholy and disconsolate Situation than that assigned to them by the Author of the *D. L.*

2. He tells us, that the *Jews* were well acquainted with the Promise of Redemption and a future State made to *Abraham*. Now in this Covenant the Promise of eternal Life was made to *Faith*.

According to the Doctor, the *Mosaic* Covenant made the Promise of eternal Life to *Works*.

But is it not a little unnatural to suppose, that God should put Men at the same Time under two such separate and distinct Covenants:—One of which offer'd Salvation upon the mild, gentle, and gracious Terms of the Gospel; while the other prescribed such hard and severe Conditions, as no one could come up to; such as demanded a perfect, absolute, and unflinching Obedience?

I shall not stay to examine his Hypothesis here at large, but would only ask, how the *Jews* could be said to be *all their Life Time subject to bondage through Fear of Death*, if they had a Promise and Assurance of a Redemption from the Curse of the Law by the Son of God?

The Bishop of *London*, upon his own Principles, can afford the *Jews* no better Hope and Assurance of a future State than Mr. *Warburton*. He will not pretend that they had the Promise of eternal Life by the Law, because this would make the Sanctions of the Law spiritual and future, as well as temporal and present, in flat Contradiction to his System.——He will not say, that they had the Promise of eternal Life by Faith in *Christ*, because he affirms, that the better Hopes of the Gospel did not subsist together with the temporal Promises of the Law; for that the first would have entirely vacated and superseded the last. Other Passages too, quoted above from his Discourses on Prophecy, plainly shew, that he denies the *Jews* all Knowledge of the spiritual Blessings and Advantages belonging to the new Covenant.

Dr. *Sykes* and Mr. *Pyle* both assure us, that the Scheme of our Redemption, as opened and explained in the Gospel, was a *Mystery* kept secret and hid from the antient *Jewish* Church.*

The Doctor tells us, “ that the Law gave only
“ some faint, and languid, and remote Hopes of
“ future good Things, of Remission of Sins, and

* *Pyle's* Paraphrase on 1 Cor. ii. 9.——“ Tho' a Kingdom
“ was foretold in *Daniel*, yet it was only foretold in general
“ that such a Thing should be: But then as to the particular
“ Nature of it, what should be its Laws, or what the Conditions of living in it, or what should be the Qualifications of
“ its Members?——Whether it was to be a temporal one, or a
“ spiritual one, or how the King of it was to preside over it,
“ the Event alone could shew clearly.” *Essay upon the Truth of the Christian Religion*, p. 32, 171.

He assures us, that even *John* the Baptist was “ ignorant of
“ the true Nature and Properties, or the Tendency and Design
“ of this Kingdom.” 40, 43.

"*eternal Happiness*, but the real and substantial
 "Foundation for such Expectations is from
 "the Resurrection of *Jesus*." *Essay*, p. 189,
 190.

He affirms too, "that the Way into the true
 "Holy of Holies, in Heaven, was not *suffici-*
 "*ently cleared up* during the first Tabernacle," or
 "was not perfectly discovered *under the Law*."
 p. 191, 192.

"Though the Law might contain some ob-
 "scure, faint Intimations of a future Life, and
 "the Happiness of good Men, yet it no where
 "gives us any *perfect Representation* of them."
 p. 188.

Now faint, obscure, and remote Intimations of
 these future good Things, when addressed to so
 gross, stupid, and carnal a People as the *Jews*,
 would amount to much the same as no Intimations
 at all.

And this the Doctor himself must suppose, when
 he says, that the Way to Heaven was *not sufficiently*
cleared up under the Law; for what possible Sense
 can these Words have, unless they mean that
 the Doctrine of a future State was not so plainly
 revealed as to be obvious and visible to the antient
Jews?

According to the Doctor's own Account there-
 fore, the *Jews* were left without any *sufficient* Pro-
 mise and Assurance, either of a future State, or
 of the Pardon and Remission of their Sins.

At the same Time he denies the Reality of an
 extraordinary Providence descending to Particulars;
 such a Providence as *often* and *generally* interposed to
 punish and reward Men in this Life.

He cannot pretend therefore, that his own Sys-
 tem leaves the *Jews* in a better Situation, than that
 given

given and allowed them by the Author of the *D. L.**

Let us go next to Doctor *Stebbing*. Now the present Objection seems to bear as hard upon *him*, as upon the Author of the *D. L.* For 1. he can no longer pretend, that the *Jews* were in Possession of the Doctrine of a future State; because he affirms, that an extraordinary Providence was necessary to supply the Want of it under the Law. 2. If he contends with the Objectors, that this Notion was necessary to support the *Jewish* Religion, he will involve himself in great and unsurmountable Diffi-

* I beg Leave to say a Word or two further concerning this Doctor's System.

1. The Difference between him and the Author of the *D. L.* is so small as to be hardly sensible. Mr. *W.* says, a future State was not revealed by *Moses*.—The Doctor asserts, that it was not sufficiently cleared up by him. Now with regard to the Influence of this Doctrine, there seems to be scarce any Difference between a dark and insufficient Revelation, and no Revelation at all.

2. The Doctor will allow, that all *fundamental* and *necessary* Articles were plainly and clearly revealed to the *Jewish* Church. Since he contends therefore, that a future State was not plainly and clearly revealed by *Moses*, he must own, that this was not a *necessary* and *fundamental* Article of the *Jewish* Religion,

3. As he affirms, that the Law offer'd only some *faint* and *obscure*, or *languid* and *remote* Intimations of another Life; he will not pretend, that future Rewards and Punishments were its real and proper Sanctions. For Common Sense tells us, that the Sanctions of a Law or Religion ought to be delivered in the most *plain*, *open*, and *explicite* Terms.

He contends, that the temporal Sanctions of the Law did not extend to Particulars and Individuals.

And thus the Law is stripped and divested of all Sanctions whatsoever, with regard to Particulars and Individuals.

Here then I would desire him to reflect, whether he has left the *Mosaic* Institution any proper Foundation at all, since he has both denied it the Support of an *extraordinary Providence*, and the Sanction of a *future State*?

culties: For this would oblige him to prove against the Deists, that a future State was plainly and distinctly revealed in the Writings of *Moses*. 3. His own Vindication and Account of Types plainly supposes, that Providence designed to hide and conceal this Doctrine from the *Jewish Church*. Since therefore he has declared it orthodox, and assigned it a Place in his own System, he is equally concerned with the Author of the *D. L.* to clear and remove both the present and all other Exceptions that may be, or have been raised against it.

And here it is not unpleasant to observe, that the Doctor is himself obliged at last to discharge the several Objections that he had with so much Sweat and Labour heap'd up in his *first Pamphlet*, in order to embarrass and distress his learned Adversary.

I shall therefore venture to congratulate Mr. *W.* upon the Accession of his *new Ally*: And as he hath taken various Measures to support the Doctrine of the *Div. Leg.* I shall conclude with a Recapitulation of them.

1. Mr. *W.* tells us, that an extraordinary Providence is really exhibited and represented in holy Scripture; and that its Interpositions were frequent enough to perpetuate and preserve the Memory of the one true God among the *Israelites*, while it was lost every where else. In this Assertion he is strongly seconded by the Doctor, who says, " that the
 " *Jews* were under the immediate Direction of
 " God, who manifested himself to them by the
 " Voice of his Prophets; and by a great Variety
 " of extraordinary and uncommon Events, gave
 " them incontestible Evidence of his Presence among
 " them."

But

But the Doctor goes farther, and agrees with our Author in affirming, that the *Jewish* Institution would have been worthy of Providence, had it served no other End, than merely to support and keep up the Memory of the one God in *Judea*, while the rest of the World was overspread with Polytheism and Idolatry.

2. Mr. *W.* in his *second* Argument observes, that *Moses* omitted to make a future State the Sanction of his Religion: And he contends, that the Deists will not be able to account for this Omision, unless they suppose him to have been perfectly satisfied and assured, that he should be supported in an extraordinary manner. Now as the Doctor has advanced nothing to enable the Deists to answer or evade this Argument, one may conclude, that he entirely agrees to its Force.

3. Mr. *W.*'s *first* Argument runs thus: "Whatsoever Religion and Society have no future State for their Support, must be supported by an extraordinary Providence.

" The *Jewish* Religion and Society had no future State for their Support.

" Therefore the *Jewish* Religion and Society were supported by an extraordinary Providence."

Here the Doctor himself allows the *major*.—The Deists as frankly confess the *minor*.—He must own therefore, that this Argument is well calculated for the Conviction of the Deists.*

4. The

* Here one may observe, that this minor Proposition has been considered in very different Lights by different Parties. The Deists urge it as an Objection to the Truth and divine Original of the Law. On the other Hand, Mr. *W.* has alledged it as a Proof that the Law was supported by an extraordinary

4. The Doctor himself allows the *minor* as well as the *major*: For his own Account of Types and secondary Prophecies obliges him to suppose, that the Doctrine of a future State was hid and concealed from the *Jewish* Church.

5. In another Place the Doctor affirms, that the *Jews* had not so clear and distinct a Revelation of a future State, as would be sufficient to preserve and support Religion, without the Dispensation of an extraordinary Providence. If he does not here allow the *minor* in all the Latitude and Extent in which it is asserted by the Author of the *D. L.* yet he allows it so far as will answer all the Purposes of the present Argument. For no Revelation of a future State, that would not serve to vacate and supersede the Use and Necessity of an extraordinary Providence, would be sufficient to destroy and overthrow the Conclusion we are here enforcing.*

6. He

dinary Providence. As for Dr. *Stebbing*, he seems at different Times, and as different Purposes may require, to agree with both of them. Sometimes he asserts with the Deists, that this Circumstance would be a *Scandal* and *Disgrace* to Revelation; and sometimes he affirms with our Author, that it would infer an extraordinary Providence, or serve to prove the Truth and Divinity of the Law.

* Here I would observe, that nothing more is required to establish the Argument of the *D. L.* than the Concession that a future State was but faintly, obscurely, and imperfectly revealed under the Law. For the Bishop of *London*, Dr. *Stebbing*, and all our orthodox Divines allow, that faint, obscure, and imperfect Revelations of this Doctrine would not be sufficient to maintain and preserve Religion, without the Dispensation of an extraordinary Providence.

If we may believe the best Writers of all Parties and Denominations, nothing more than dark, ambiguous, and remote Intimations of another Life are delivered in the Writings of

Moses!

6. He owns that the rare, slight, and imperfect Mention of a future State in the Old Testament, can only be explained and accounted for upon the Supposition, that the antient *Jews* actually lived under an extraordinary Providence.

I have next shewn, that his Method of Reasoning must expose the *Jewish* Institution to the Scorn and Derision of Unbelievers. 1. He affirms, that an extraordinary Providence was only necessary, in order to supply the Want of a clear, perfect, and distinct Revelation of a future State under the Law. If therefore he contends that the *Jews* were in full Possession of this Doctrine, he must give up to the Deists the Scripture Notion of an extraordinary Providence as absolutely false and groundless. 2. He asserts, that the Doctrine of a future State is a necessary and essential Part of

Moses! The best Writers therefore of all Parties and Denominations have allowed all that is necessary to support the Argument of the *D. L.*

Episcopius, Curcellæus, Limborch, do often speak of the *Jews*, as having nothing more than some slight, superficial, and imperfect Notices of this Doctrine.

Many of the greatest Lights of our own Church have asserted the same Thing.

But it will make most for my present Purpose to observe, that *Dr. Sykes* and *Dr. Stebbing*, notwithstanding they differ so widely in almost all other Matters, do yet agree in affirming, that a future State was not plainly and distinctly revealed by *Moses*.

The Bishop of *London* and *Dr. Middleton* had entertained very different Opinions concerning the Scripture, in some very fundamental and essential Articles; but both concur in asserting, that the better Hopes of the Gospel were not brought in under the Law.

The Doctor indeed speaks of the Gospel Doctrine of Salvation, or the Promise of eternal Life by *Jesus Christ*, as a Mystery hid from Ages and Generations, and not revealed till the coming of our Saviour.

every

every Religion that comes from God. This Assertion will oblige him to give up the Truth and Authority of the Law, since he cannot prove that this Doctrine was plainly and clearly revealed by *Moses*.

3. He supposes, that a future State was delivered in the Law under the Veil of Types; and he supposes withal, that the Doctrines thus delivered were purposely hid and concealed from the *Jewish* Church. Now if this Notion was necessary to support Religion at this Time, what possible End could be answered by covering and secreting it from the People?

As for myself, I never proposed or undertook, (except upon the Principles advanced by the Writers against Mr. *W.*) to prove, that the *Jews* had not the Knowledge of a future State; nor was I under any Necessity of embarking in this Enquiry, as the Doctor's Concessions were of themselves sufficient to establish the Argument of the *D. L.*

I have indeed said, that Mr. *W.* had made good this Point, or proved, that the Body of the *Jews* had not this Doctrine; and for this I appeal to the Passages of Scripture produced in the *D. L.* for this Purpose, most of which Dr. *Stebbing* has himself shewn to be strictly and properly decisive of the present Question.

I can assure the impartial Reader, I am very far from having entertained any particular Fondness or unreasonable Prejudice in Favour of the Argument of the *D. L.* and shall be glad to embrace the common System, as soon as ever the Doctor shall shew me how it may be made consistent with HIS own Principles, or indeed with any reasonable Principles whatsoever.

With

With this View I have made bold to recall the Doctor to the Defence of this System; for at present I cannot see how he will be able to prove the Reality of an extraordinary Providence under the Law, or the Reasonableness and Propriety of Types and secondary Prophecies, without adopting the Argument of the *Div. Leg.* which shews, that the *Jews* had *not* the Doctrine of a future State.*

Nor need he be ashamed of this Concession. Some of our most able and eminent Divines, in their Defences of revealed Religion, have been obliged to argue upon the same Supposition. It is evidently the Case of the Lord Bishop of *London*, in his excellent and justly-celebrated Discourses on *the Use and*

* It has been observed that the Doctor, if determined to support his old Principles against all Opposers, will greatly contribute to the Credit of the Argument of the *D. L.* 1. For then he must undertake the Question of an extraordinary Providence against Dr. *Sykes*. 2. He must shew, against Dr. *Rutterforth*, that the Sanctions of the Law were purely temporal. And, 3. he must prove *against himself*, that the *Jews* had *not* the Doctrine of a future State.

He is evidently obliged to make this good, because he contends, that neither the Reality of an extraordinary Providence, nor the Propriety and Reasonableness of Types and secondary Prophecies, can be supported against the Objections of Unbelievers without adopting this Principle.

As Dr. *Stebbing* has attacked the main Point advanced by Dr. *Sykes*, so Dr. *Sykes* has returned his Compliment, and denied the *Jews* the Knowledge of the *Christian* or *revealed* Doctrine of a future State, which is asserted by Dr. *Stebbing*, and made his great and principal Objection to the Argument of the *D. L.*

Upon the whole, the Reader will observe, 1. that no one Point has been advanced by Mr. *W.* in which he is not seconded by some or other of his Opponents. 2. That no one Point has been asserted by any of these Writers against him, which some or other of them have not engaged to confute and overthrow.

Intent

Intent of Prophecy; in which several Passages would appear to be perfectly unintelligible; many of his main Arguments weak and inconclusive; and the whole Scheme and Tenour of his Vindication of the antient Prophecies utterly groundless and unsupported, if he went upon any Principles but those of the *Div. Leg.*

It indeed plainly appears, even from his Lordship's own Attempt, to remove the Difficulties objected to the *Mosaic History of the Fall*, that they can only be removed by the Aid of these Principles.

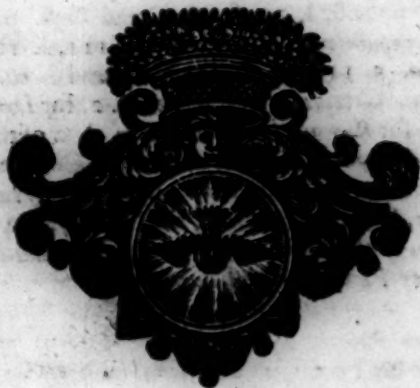
He has undertaken the Question of Types and secondary Prophecies against the Author of *the Grounds and Reasons*; and here Dr. Stebbing assures us, that his Lordship cannot succeed in this Part of the Argument, unless he will allow and suppose, with Mr. Warburton, that the *Jews* had not the Knowledge of a future State.*

* This Question has been undertaken against Mr. Collins both by the Bishop, and the Author of the *D. L.*—It might be worth while to scrutinize and compare together their respective Arguments. Something of this kind has been done by another Writer, with respect to the *Alliance between Church and State*, and the Bishop's *Vindication of the Corporation and Test-Acts*, where he points out some great and fundamental Defects in his Lordship's System; and shews, that the Principles asserted by him, furnish his Adversaries with strong and unanswerable Arguments against his Cause, (*vid. Exposition of the orthodox System of Civil Rights and Church Power, delivered in the Writings of Dr. Stebbing*;) and indeed his Lordship's warmest Admirers seem to be convinced at last, that this is the real Case. For the late Controversy concerning an Establishment, a Test-Law, and the Power and Authority of the Church, has obliged them to abandon the *old System*, and to recur to the *Alliance*, as the only Refuge, that could serve to shelter and secure them against the Attacks of those Gentlemen who dissent from the established Church. (*vid. Mr. White's late Pamphlets.*)

It

It would be needless to recount the several Particulars advanced by this great and learned Man, which, I suppose his Advocates will be greatly embarrassed to defend, against the Objections of Unbelievers, without having Recourse to the Principles of the *Divine Legation*.

But it will be Time enough to explain these Matters at large, when any of them shall attempt to shew, that his Lordship's *Discourses on Prophecy* may be defended, or the Objections of Dr. Middleton and Mr. Collins fairly and effectually removed, upon this newly authenticated Principle, *That the early Jews were in Possession of the Doctrine of Life and Immortality, delivered down to them traditionally from the Patriarchs.*



E R R A T A.

Occasion'd by the AUTHOR's Absence.

P. 9, l. 2 of the Note, dele *or*. l. 25, for *Convention* read *Convocation*. p. 15, l. 22, for *more* read *mere*. p. 19, l. 19, for *Cause* read *Case*. p. 32, l. 4, for *natural* read *national*. p. 38, l. 19, for *is* here read *are* here. p. 41, l. 34, dele *but*. p. 47, l. 13, for *Deists* read *Deist*. p. 54, l. 12, for *no* read *so*. p. 59, l. 28, for *signed* read *consigned*. p. 84, l. 30, for *least* read *last*. p. 92, l. 23, for *so slight* read *so slight is the Difference*. p. 96, l. 14, for *Conclusion of the said D. L.* read *Conclusion of the said Argument of the D. L.* p. 101, l. 15 of the Note, for *was* read *was not*. p. 108, l. 23, for *such* read *these*. p. 110, l. 12, 13, for *they contain* read *it contains*. p. 111, l. 12, for *upon it* read *upon them*. p. 112, l. ult. for *How* read *Now*. p. 113, l. 4 of the Note, add *Grotius in loc.* p. 122, l. 2, for *Deists* read *Deist*. p. 123, l. 9, for *they will* read *will they*. l. 2 of the Notes, for *Animal* read *Animad.* p. 130, l. 9, dele the Comma after *Means*. l. 12, for *under it* read *under them*. l. 16, for *certainly* read *Certainty*. p. 137, l. 30, for *tells* read *tell*. p. 147, l. 4 of the Note, for *other Parts of this Section* read *other Testimonies here cited*. p. 158, l. ult. for *Pamphlets* read *Pamphlet*.



APPENDIX.

Containing LETTERS *which passed between* Dr. Middleton and Mr. Warburton.

THE following Letters having fallen into my Hands, I thought I should make the Reader no unwelcome Present in subjoining them to my Book. No learned Man but would be willing to know the Sentiments of these two Writers on such interesting Subjects as the Characters of CICERO and MOSES ; no inquisitive Man but what would be willing to know what Mr. *W.* thought of the Doctor's Hero, and what the Doctor thought of his.

I had another Reason for obliging the Public with the Doctor's Letter: It was to present the Adversaries of the *Divine Legation* with a better Model of an Answer than any they have either given, or followed, in the Course of this Dispute. They will be here gratified with an ingenious and acute Objection against the Argument of the *Div. Leg.* urged in a very learned and masterly Manner, without the pitiful Evasion exposed above, of taking Refuge in the Revelation-System:

M

Dr.

Dr. MIDDLETON'S LETTER to
Mr. WARBURTON.

Sir,

Dorchester, Sept. 11, 1736.

YOUR Candor, I hope, has already prevented me in suggesting some favourable Excuse for my long Silence. The Truth, which is always the best Apology, is, that I was absent from *Cambridge*, when your Letter arrived there, and though it was transmitted to me at this Place, yet it found me in no Condition to answer it, either to your Satisfaction or my own. I am here unprovided of *Tully's* Works, and without the Help of my Papers to furnish any Hints to me on the Subject; spending my Time suitably to the Taste and Temptations of the Country, in Cards at home, and Sports abroad; yet I could not longer defer to pay my Thanks at least for the great Entertainment, that it gave me; with Promise of further Payment, as soon as I am able.

The Point, that you undertook to make good concerning *Tully*, is, that *he did not believe a future State*. In Proof of which you maintain, that in *his Epistles onely*, of all his Works, we are to look for *his real Sentiments*.

This, tho' supported by you very ingeniously, is not, I own, agreeable to the Notion, that I had formed from my general Acquaintance with his Writings: And as I have not yet had Leisure to make it the Subject of a particular Enquiry, so at present I can only give my loose and indigested Thoughts on the Matter; which I shall do very freely, and in the Method, that you have sketched out to me.

You assign four Reasons of the Difficulty of discovering *Tully's* Opinions on the important Questions

ons of Philosophy. 1. The Character of the ancient Philosophy in general. 2. The manner in which the *Romans* received the *Greek* Philosophy. 3. The Nature of that Philosophy, which *Tully* espoused. 4. The peculiar Character of the Man.

1. By the first, you mean *the double Doctrine* of the old Masters; *the external, and internal*; the one for the Vulgar, the other for the Adept. But whatever Effect this had in *Greece*, where that Way of Teaching seems to have been drop'd, long before *Tully*; it certainly had none in *Rome*, or at least in *Tully's* Writings: The End and Purpose of which was to explain to his Countrymen, in the most perspicuous Manner, whatever the Ancients had taught on every Article, either of speculative or practical Knowledge.

2. *The Romans*, you say, *were far from the Humour of the Greeks*; and did not regard the *Doctrine of the Sect*, that they espoused, as a Rule of Life, but a kind of Furniture onely for their *Rhetoric Schools*. But I see no Ground for this Distinction; if there was any between them, the *Greeks* were certainly the more disputatious, and, agreeably to *St. Paul's* Character of them, more curious and fond of every Thing new. *Cato*, you see, from the Testimony, that you produce, made the *Stoical Doctrine* his Rule of living; and tho' he is laugh'd at for it by *Cicero*, yet not for making Philosophy his Rule, but that particular Philosophy, which was incompatible with common Life.

There is a Letter from *Tully* to *Trebatius*, upon his turning Epicurean; in which he rallies him for his new Principles, which must necessarily spoil the Lawyer, as breaking thro' all the old Forms of securing Faith and Property amongst Men: and concludes, *that if he was serious in the Change, he was sorry for it; if to make his Court only to Panfa, he ex-*

cused it. (Fam. l. 7. 12.) This shews, that the Choice of a Sect was not thought a Thing indifferent, but supposed to operate in Life and Manners. If then, as *Tully* says, a great Part took up their Philosophy *disputandi causa, non ita vivendi*; yet this was not the Thing generally intended by it, but on the contrary, what was generally thought blameable. Nor was it peculiar to the *Romans*, any more than to the *Greeks*, or to any other People, *not to live up to the Rule, that they professed*; just as we see it now in the Case of Religion, which a great Part in all Countries contend for very warmly, yet practise very coldly.

3. You make *the Nature of Tully's Philosophy* another Source of Difficulty in finding out his real Sentiments. His Philosophy was *of the Academy*; and whether of the old or the new, much the same. But when you call it *perfectly sceptical*, you seem to confound it with a different Sect, whose distinguishing Character was to *doubt of every Thing*: Whereas the Principle of the Academy was only to *suspend their Assent*, till by examining all Sides of a Question, they could discover *the probable*. For in speculative Enquiries they disclaimed *all Certainty*; and thought nothing so unworthy of a Philosopher, as a *rash Assent*, and the embracing for true what he did not comprehend. They imagined Truth and Falshood to be so mix'd and blended by Nature, that it was extremely difficult, if not impossible, to separate them entirely; that Probability was the utmost, that human Wit could arrive at. This therefore they made *their Rule*, both of thinking and acting. What the other Sects affirmed with Assurance, they made it their Task to confute or shew to be *uncertain*; taking from each still what they liked, and following it, with this Difference only; that what the others called *true*, they called *probable*.
This,

This, of all others, was the most rational Way of philosophizing; subjecting them to no Master, no System of Opinions; but leaving a Liberty to chuse, after a free Enquiry, whatever was found most agreeable to Reason and Nature. But what is there in this to create Difficulty in discovering a Man's Opinions, whenever he thinks fit to declare them? It might create, perhaps, some Diffidence in declaring them; and a Disposition, to confute rather what others assert, than to assert any Thing of his own: But their Rule still was as certain and consistent as of any other Sect; and when persuaded, of any Opinion, they pursued it as regularly, and explained as freely as any of the rest.

4. But the *Embarrass*, you say, is completed by the peculiar Character of the Man; which you consider in three different Capacities, of the Orator, the Statesman, the Philosopher; and contend, that he not only contradicts in one, what he affirms in another, but is inconsistent with himself, even when he speaks from one and the same Person: Yet from the best Attention, that I have been able to pay to his History, I find in him but one general, consistent, glorious Character, of a great and good Man, acting and speaking on all Occasions, what the greatest Prudence with the greatest Virtue would suggest.

As an Orator, it was his Business to inforce, with all the Power of Eloquence, whatever he thought serviceable to his Client, and useful to the Cause, that he was defending. Of this Part he acquitted himself with Glory; and tells us himself, what the Nature of the Thing would tell us for him, that we are not to expect his real Sentiments here.

As a Statesman, the Case is still the same. In his Harangues to the People he gives a different

Account, you observe, of the same Fact, from what he had done in the Senate; that is, he adapts his Style and Arguments to the different Genius of each Assembly; to engage them both the more effectually to promote the Measures, that he was then pursuing.

As a Philosopher; if we join the Character of an Academic, we shall find him equally consistent. For I cannot help agreeing with *Bentley*, in taking this for the Key of his philosophical Writings, as much as I do with you, in your fixing the Time of his changing the Academy. This was the Philosophy, that he profess'd through Life; and to which he professes himself indebted for all his Success in it: And this Clue will lead us through *that Labyrinth of Contradictions*, which you seem to discover in his Works.

In his Book of Divination, you say, *he combats all Augury*; but in his Book of Laws declares for it; *in a manner too serious to suspect him of feigning*. Yet all the Matter is, that in the one he acts the Philosopher; in the other the Statesman: In his Treatise on Divination, he asserts and establishes it in the first Book, in the Person of his Brother, by all the Arguments, that can be brought for it; and refutes them all in the second, in his own Person. This is the true Spirit of the Academy; after examining both Sides, to reject what has nothing solid in it. Yet in *his Treatise on Laws*, he recommends *Augury*; and no Wonder: for tho' he laughed at it as a Philosopher; he had a great Opinion of it as a Politician: And always speaks of *the Invention of its Ceremonies, and the making them Part of the civil Constitution, as an Instance of the greatest Wisdom and Prudence in their Ancestors*. For it was wholly agreeable to that Scheme of Policy, which he constantly pursued from the Beginning to the End of Life, of throw-

throwing the chief Influence and Balance of Power in State Matters into the Hands of the better Sort.

Again you take Notice, that in his *Book on the Nature of the Gods*, he reflects on those, as too curious or impertinent, who were calling upon him on all Occasions to declare his own Opinion: *Qui autem requirunt, quid quaque de re ipsi sentiamus, curiosius id faciunt, quam necesse est.* (l. 1. § 5.) yet in his *Academic Questions*, he swears, that he always speaks what he thinks: *Jurarem — me et ardere studio veri reperiendi, et ea sentire, quæ dicerem.* (l. 4. § 10.) In the first of these Works, he professes onely to collect what the old Philosophers had taught; and, according to the Method of the Academy, to combat the Opinion of one Sect, with that of another, without declaring his own: So that the Difficulty of discovering it is not owing here, as you intimate, to any Obscurity in delivering it; but to his not delivering it at all. But in the *Academic Questions*, as far as I can understand the Passage without the Context to assist me, he does not swear, as you render it, that he always speaks what he thinks, but onely, that he thinks what he is there speaking: And if so, it confirms what I have been saying of the Academy, and its being the true Key of his Sentiments.

But you assert, that his Sentiments are not to be collected from any of his Writings, that were designed for the Public, which include all but his Letters, because, in all his Writings of that Kind, he affected an Obscurity. This is the first Time that I have ever seen the Character of obscure apply'd to Tully's Writings: Surely no Man's Stile was ever farther removed from it, or more remarkably shining and perspicuous, than his. But the whole Charge of Obscurity, and all the Contrast of Sentiments found in different Parts of his Works may easily be solved, by

considering onely the different Circumstances, in which they were delivered. By attending to this, we shall find his very Contradictions to be Consistencies, and nothing else but what was prudent and proper to be said by one and the same Man; acting the different Parts of the *Orator, the Statesman, the Philosopher.*

To come then at last to the principal Point in question; the Discovery of *his real Thoughts concerning a future State, which are to be collected onely, you say, from his Epistles.* And so far I agree, that in familiar Letters we may expect to find him more open and undisguised, and as far as he touches any Subject, treating it with less Reserve, than in Works designed for the Public: Yet all his Letters, as you allow, are not of this Sort: In many of them it was his Business to say, not so much what was true, as what would please. But let us see what he has actually said in the Testimonies, that you have produced from them. In a Letter to *Atticus*, (l. 4. 10.) *Sed de illa ambulatione, fors viderit, aut si qui est, qui curet, deus.* To *Torquatus*, (Ep. fam. l. 6. 3.) *Sed hæc consolatio levis est: Illa gravior, qua te uti spero, ego certe utor: Nec dum ero, angar ulla re, cum omni vacem culpa: Et si non ero, sensu omnino carebo.* Again, (ib. 4.) *Deinde quod mihi ad consolationem commune tecum est, si jam vocer ad exitum vitæ, non ab ea republica avellar, qua carendum esse doleam, præsertim, cum id sine ullo sensu futurum sit.* To *Toranius*, (ib. 21.) *Cum consilio profici nihil possit, una ratio videtur, quicquid evenerit, ferre moderate, præsertim, cum omnium rerum mors sit extremum.* Nothing, you say, can be more express than these Passages against a future State: And that *Tully* speaks in them his real Sentiments, there is not the least room to doubt. They were Letters of Consolation to his Friends, when he himself, by Reason

son of the ill State of public Affairs, most wanted Consolation.

As to the first of these Passages; you allow it to be a Compliment to the Philosophy of his Friend Atticus, who was an Epicurean: And why is it not so too in the rest? In the first to Torquatus, as in that to Atticus, the Case is put hypothetically, *si non ero*: And the very Use of such a Topic in Consolation, implies, that these Friends also were Epicureans, and that he was administering Comfort from their Philosophy, not his own, as likely to have the more Weight with them; or arguing, as we say, *ad hominem*, not expressing his real Sentiments.

But as this is only conjectural, and, as some may think, contrary to Fact; let us try what other Defence can be made, and what Use in this Case of our *Key of the Academy*. Though I have often reflected on these Passages, yet my Notion has always been, that Tully did believe a future State. The whole Turn of his Writings, and the Tenor of his Life shew it: He lived expecting it, and always, so as to deserve it; and declares it to be a favourite Opinion; which, though possibly an Error, he was resolved to indulge. But we must remember still, that he was an Academic; that is, that he believed it only to be probable; and as Probability necessarily admits the Degrees of *more and less*, so it admits a Variety likewise in the Stability of our Persuasion: And as Tully himself says, on another Occasion, *quis autem est, tanta quidem de re, quin varie secum ipse disputet?* In a melancholy Hour, when the Spirits are low, and the Mind under a Dejection, an Argument appears in a very different Light; Objections acquire Strength; and what humours the present Chagrin, finds the readiest Admission. These Passages were evidently of this Kind, written in his desponding Moments; and, as
you

you say, *when he himself most wanted Consolation.* And if we allow them therefore to express what he really thought at the Time, yet they prove nothing more, than that *he sometimes doubted of what he generally believed*; consistently with the Character and Principles of an Academic, who embraced *no Opinions as certain.*

Thus, Sir, I have given you my free Thoughts on what you were so good as to communicate with regard to *Tully*: I will not be answerable for the Exactness of them; they are such onely as my Recollection could furnish, without the Help of *Tully's* Works to refresh, or any Testimonies to support them. But as I reserve the more exact Consideration of this Argument to the Part of *Tully's* Life, which was the most employed on Philosophy, under *Cæsar's* Tyranny, so I shall be obliged to you for imparting any further Thoughts on the Subject, either to confirm or confute what I have here offered: And if any Occasion of Books or Friends should invite you again this Winter to *Cambridge*, where I propose to be about *Michaelmas*, I beg you to be assured, that no Man will be more ready to serve you in any manner there, or better pleas'd to enjoy as much of your Company as your Time and other Friends will allow to,

Sir,

Your most obedient Servant,

CONYERS MIDDLETON.

P. S. I should be glad to hear that your great Work goes on successfully; and as a sure Omen of satisfying others, that you find more and more Satisfaction from it yourself. When I was last in *London*, I met with a little Piece, written with the same

same View and on the same Plan with yours: An anonymous Letter from *Geneva*, evincing the *divine Mission of Moses, from the Institution of the Sabbatic Year*. The Author sets out, like you, from this single Postulatum, that *Moses was a consummate Lawgiver*; and shews, that he could never have enjoined a Law so whimsical, impolitic, and bazardous; exposing the People to certain Famine, as oft as the preceding or following Year proved barren; if He, who has all Nature at command, had not warranted the Success of it. The Letter is ingenious and sprightly, and dresses out, in a Variety of Colours, the Absurdity of the Institution, on the Supposition of its being human. It is in *French*, and published in *Bibliothèque Germanique*, Tom. 30.

But will not this Gaiety of censuring the Law be found too adventurous, and expose your *Postulatum* itself to some Hazard? Especially when there is a *Fact*, generally allowed by the Learned, that seems to overturn all this specious Reasoning at once; viz. that this Law of the Sabbatic Year was never observed. For if so, it may be objected, with some Shew of Reason, that *Moses* had charged himself with the Issue of Events too delicate, and beyond his Reach, and imprudently enjoined what Use and Experience shewed to be impracticable.

I am apprehensive likewise, that your Work will not stand wholly clear of Objections: Your Scheme, as I take it, is to shew, that so able a Man as *Moses* could not possibly have omitted the Doctrine of a future State, thought so necessary to Government by all other Legislators, had he not done it by the express Direction of the Deity; and that under the miraculous Dispensations of the Theocracy, he could neither want it himself for the enforcing a Respect to his Laws, nor yet the People for the Encouragement of their Obedience. But what was the Consequence? Why the People were perpetually

petually apostatizing either to the Superstitions of *Egypt*, or the Idolatries of *Canaan*; and tired with the Load of their Ceremonies, wholly drop'd them at last, and sunk into all Kinds of Vice and Profaneness; till the Prophets, in order to revive and preserve a Sense of Religion amongst them, began to preach up the rational Duties of Morality, and insinuate *the Doctrine of a future State*.

As in the other Case then, some may be apt to say, that *Moses* had instituted what could not be practised without Ruin to the State; so in this, that he had overlooked, what could not be omitted without Ruin to Religion.

I have taken the Liberty to propose these Hints, that, if you think them of Weight, you may be better prepared to obviate them; if not, may proceed the more securely by seeing Reason to slight them. As for myself, I can safely swear with *Tully*, that I have *a most ardent Desire to find out the Truth*: But as I have generally been disappointed in my Enquiries, and more successful in finding what is false than what is true, so I begin, like him too, to grow a mere Academic, humbly content to take up with the *probable*. Whatever you have to offer me of this Kind, I shall thankfully embrace; and tho' I expect as much from you, as I do from any Man, yet in the arduous Subject, on which you are engaged, I dare not venture to raise my Expectations any higher.

Mr.

Mr. WARBURTON'S Answer.

Sir,

I Received the Favour of yours from *Dorchester*, and the best Return I can make for it will be to reply to it in the same free and friendly Manner.

Before I give you my Thoughts on each Head wherein we differ, I would premise one Word on the Subject in general. In the third Book of my Defence of *Moses* I shall shew, that a future State of *Rewards and Punishments* (not a future Existence merely, such as a Resolution of the Soul into the *anima mundi*, or any other Mode of simple Being) was not credited by any Sect of Philosophy in *Greece*, though taught by almost all. I think I prove this by the clearest Passages in Antiquity. I go farther, and shew, not only that they *did* not, but that they *could* not believe it; because there was one common Principle held by all, which overturned the Notion of a future State of *Rewards and Punishments*. As this Principle was *metaphysical*, and, as at the same Time, it is owned they held several *moral* ones, which led naturally to the Belief of future Rewards and Punishments; I shew, in the last Place, that it was the general Custom of the Philosophers to be swayed, in their *speculative* Conclusions, rather by their *metaphysical* Principles than their *moral*. This seemed enough for my Purpose. But the great Character of CICEERO, who transferred the *Greek* Philosophy to *Rome*, and, as you justly observe, *explained to his Countrymen, in the most perspicuous Manner, whatever the Antients had taught in every Article, whether of speculative or practical Knowledge*, made it proper to examine his Sentiments on this Point. And though it might be fairly enough concluded, that
he

he must believe with his *Masters*, especially as he held with them that general Principle I speak of above, yet two Reasons induced me to give the short Dissertation I sent you. The one was, that the common Prejudice runs the other Way, contracted from several Passages in his Works, delivered either *exoterically* or under a *foreign* Character. The other Reason was, that my Notion of the Manner in which the *Romans* received the *Greek* Philosophy seemed, at first Sight, to weaken my Conclusion of *Tully's* believing with his *Masters*; so that it was proper to shew, that that Notion might be turned the other Way, to the Support of the Conclusion.

I shall now consider your Objections to the four Points I go upon, in the Dissertation I sent you.

1. Against what I urged concerning the *double Doctrine*, you say, *whatever Effect this had in Greece, where that Way of Teaching seems to have been drop'd long before Tully, it certainly had none in Rome.* The *Double-Docctrine* I take to have been of the *Essence* of the *Greek* Philosophy, and therefore inseparable from it. For the Fact, I appeal to the Writings of the later *Stoics* and *Platonists* that are come down to us, and to the Testimonies of *Clemens Alex.*, *Origine*, *Synefius*, *Salust* the Philosopher, *Apuleius*, and many others. That the *Academics* practised it we have *Tully's* own Word, in a Fragment preserved by *St. Austin*, "*Mos fuit Academicis occultandi sententiam suam nec eam cuiquam nisi qui secum ad senectutem usque vixisset aperiendi.*" That the *Stoics* at *Rome* used it, I think, *Seneca's* Works clearly shew; and that the *Academics* of that Place did the same, may be seen by a Quotation below, from *Ac. Qu. l. 4. c. 18.* Nor is this Mode of teaching, which so constantly occurs

curs in antient Authors, ever spoken of as a Thing disused or become obsolete. You add—or at least in Tully's Writings; the End and Purpose of which was, to explain to his Countrymen in the most perspicuous Manner whatever the Antients had taught, &c. Now because this was indeed the End of most of his philosophic Writings, I conclude they were of that Kind which (to use Tully's own Words) were "*populariter scriptum, quod ἐκτετακτον appellabant;*" and consequently, that, from such, his real Sentiments were not to be gathered. Why the Distinction is not *ostentatiously* used in those Writings, is plain: It is agreed that the Use of the *double Doctrine* was to hide some Things from the Vulgar, which were reserved for the Adepts; but this *End* would have been defeated by laying the mysterious *Means* open to all.

2. To my Notion of the different Manner in which the Romans espoused a philosophic Sect, from what was the Practice of the Greeks, you reply—*You see no Ground for the Distinction. If there was any between them, the Greeks were certainly the more disputatious, &c.* But I do not make a disputatious Humour a Mark of no close Adherence to a Set of Opinions. On the contrary, daily Experience informs us, that no Men are so disputatious as Bigots, whether in Philosophy or Religion: And Bigots of the first Kind, the Greeks were above all other Men. But when, on the Authority of Tully, I said, that the Romans used the Greek Philosophy to assist them in their Disputations, I urged the Fact as a Proof, that they did not embrace, as true, all the Opinions of the Sect they espoused: By which I meant, that these several PHILOSOPHIES, as *Studies of Humanity*, (and this is Tully's own Expression) enabled them to invent readily, and reason justly; not on the Points of that Philosophy only,

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from

from whence the Principles or Method was taken, but on any Subject in civil Life. And this I am persuaded is what Tully meant.

You go on—*Cato, you see, from the Testimony you produce, made the Stoical Doctrine his Rule of living.* By this it would seem as if you supposed I made no Exception to the Manner in which, I say, the *Romans* entered themselves into a Sect. But my Words must be restrained to *Tully's magna pars*, who is my Authority for the Assertion. You add—*And tho' he is laugh'd at for it by Cicero, yet not for making Philosophy his Rule, but that particular Philosophy which was incompatible with common Life.* I very readily own, that these Words of Tully, taken alone, look very much that Way; and the *disputandi causa* seems as if the Observation was confined to *Stoicism*, for that Sect had so entirely engrossed the *Dialectics*, that the Followers of *Zeno* were more commonly called *Dialectici* than *Stoici*. So *Galen* is generally called *Dialecticus*. Notwithstanding this, it plainly appears, I think, from the Context, that the Sense I gave the Passage is the true one. *Cicero* introduces his Observation on *Cato's* Singularity in this Manner,—“*Quoniam non est nobis hæc oratio habenda, aut cum imperita multitudinem, aut in aliquo conventu agrestium, audacius paullo de studiis humanitatis, quæ & mihi & vobis nota & jucunda sunt, disputabo.*” Here he declares, his Intention is not to give his Thoughts on the Stoical Philosophy in particular, (though that furnished the Occasion) but on the Greek Philosophy in general, *de studiis humanitatis*. He then runs through the Stoical Paradoxes, and concludes, “*Hæc homo ingeniosissimus, M. C.—arripuit, &c.*” But had it been his Intention to confine his Observation to the Stoics, he must have said *banc*, not *hæc*; especially when he says it was taken up *disputandi*

tandi causa; for *hec* refers to the foregoing Paradoxes, which had no Use in the Art of Disputation, that was the Province of their Metaphysics.

On the whole it appears, that the Words in question were spoken of the Greek Philosophy in general: And as *Cicero* laughed at Those who took it up *vivendi*, we must conclude, he espoused it *disputandi causa*. If you doubt this, I can give you *Tully's* own Word for it in this very Oration. "*Fatebor, enim, Cato, me quoque in adolescentia, diffusum ingenio meo, quæsisse adjumenta Doctrinæ.*" Which, in other Words, is, I myself espoused a Grecian Sect *disputandi causa*. And this is full enough for the Purpose of my Discourse, where it is only given as *one of the Causes* of the Difficulty in coming at *Tully's* real Sentiments.

3. I make the Nature of *Tully's* Sect of Philosophy another Cause. But you say, when I call the Way of the Academy perfectly sceptical, I seem to confound it with a different Sect, whose distinguishing Character was to doubt of every Thing. If that was the Character of the Sect you hint at, I am afraid the Academy will be found to agree but too well with it. But admitting I had confounded the two Sects, I do no more than what the Antients did before me. *Sextus Empiricus*, a perfect Master of this Point, if ever there was any, says, (in his *Pyrrhon. Hypot.* l. i. c. 33.) that some of the Antients held the Academics and Sceptics to be one and the same, φασι μὲν τοι τινες ὅτι ἡ Ἀκαδημαϊκὴ φιλοσοφία ἡ αὐτὴ ἐστὶ τῇ σκεψει. And though *Sextus* denies they were exactly the same, because, though both agreed that Truth could not be found, yet the Academics held there was a Difference in those Things which pretended to it; yet at last he owns that *Arcefilas* and *Pyrrho* had one common Philosophy. Ὁ μὲν τοι Ἀρκησίλαος, οὐ τῆς μέσης Ἀκαδημίας ἐλεγόμεν εἶναι προσατὴν καὶ ἀρχηγόν,

πάνυ μοι δοκεῖ τοῖς Πυρρωνεῖσι κοινῶναι λόγοις, ὥς μὲν
 εἶναι σχεδὸν τὴν κατ' αὐτοῦ ἀγωγὴν καὶ τὴν ἡμέτεράν. A.
 Gellius, too, assures us, that the Difference between
 the two Sects amounted to just nothing. "*Vetus*
 "*autem questio & a multis Scriptoribus græcis trac-*
 "*tata est, in quid, & quantum, Pyrrhonios &*
 "*Academicos Philosophos interfuit. Utrique enim*
 "ΣΚΕΠΤΙΚΟΙ, ΕΦΕΛΙΚΟΙ, ΑΠΟΡΗΤΙΚΟΙ, dicuntur, quo-
 "*niam utrique nihil affirmant, nihilque comprehendendi*
 "*putant—differre tamen inter sese—vel maxime*
 "*propterea existimati sunt Academici quidem ipsam*
 "*illud nihil posse decerni quasi decernunt: Pyrrhonii*
 "*ne id quidem ullo pacto videri verum dicunt, quod*
 "*nihil esse verum videtur.*" L. II. C. 5.

However, when I said the Academy was *perfectly*
sceptical, I meant in their *Principles* of philosophis-
 ing, rather than in the *Conduct* of their Argument-
 ation: The Remark in the first Sense being to my
 Purpose, in the other, not. Academics and Scep-
 tics agreed in these Principles, "That nothing
 "could be known, and that every thing was to
 "be disputed, without delivering their own Senti-
 "ments at all." The Conclusion the *Sceptics* drew
 from hence, was, that nothing was to be assented
 to, but the Mind kept in an eternal Suspence.
 The *Academics*, indeed, concluded that the proba-
 ble, when it was found, should be assented to; but
 till then, they were to go on with the Sceptics
 questioning, disputing, and contradicting. And in
 Fact they did thus go on, without ever finding the
 probable in any thing, further than what was ne-
 cessary to furnish them with Arms for disputing a-
 gainst every thing. This, indeed, was a Contra-
 diction in their Scheme; but Scepticism is ever de-
 structive of itself. The Mischief was, that having
 allowed the probable thus far, it induced Strangers
 to think better of them than they deserved; that
 is,

is, to think they were consistent. This I take to be the true Secret of all the Intrigues of the Academy ; which Tully himself enables us to unravel. — That nothing could be known, or so much as *perceived*, we have his Word. “ *Opinionibus & Institutis omnia teneri : Nihil veritati relinqui : Deinceps omnia tenebris circumfusa esse dixerunt. Itaque Arcefilas negabat esse quidquam quod sciri posset ; ne illud quidem ipsum. Sed omnia latere censebat in occulto. Neque esse quidquam quod cerni aut intelligi possit : Quibus de causis nihil oportere neque profiteri neque affirmare quemquam, neque assertione approbare.*” Ac. Qu. l. i. c. 12. — That every thing was to be disputed, without interfering with their own Sentiments, he likewise makes the Character of the Academy. “ *Carneades vero multo uberius iisdem de rebus loquebatur : Non quo aperiret sententiam suam (hic enim mos patrius Academicè ADVERSARI SEMPER OMNIBUS in disputando) sed, &c. de Orat. l. i. c. 18. Agitur — Proprium sit Academicè judicium suum nullum interponere, ea probare quæ simillima veri videntur, conferre causas, & quid in quamque sententiam dici possit expromere nulla adhibita sua auctoritate judicium audientium reliquere integrum & liberum.*” De Divin. l. 2. From hence it appears, that *this probable*, which, you say, *they pursued as regularly, and explained as freely as any of the rest*, was not any thing that related to their Assent or Approbation, but only what afforded Matter for disputing plausibly : It was not a *probable* to sway their Judgments, but to inforce their Reasoning. And what was this but being *perfectly sceptical*? Lastly, we have the Testimony of Lucullus, that tho’ the Academics pretended their End was to find the probable, yet, like the Sceptics, they held their Mind in eternal Suspence, and continued going on

disputing against every thing, without ever finding the probable in any thing, so far as to determine their Judgments.—*Restat illud, quod dicunt veri inveniendi causa* contra omnia dici oportere & pro omnibus, *volo igitur videre QUID INVENERINT?* Non solemus, inquit, ostendere. Acad. Qu. l. 4. c. 18. If this Answer was not founded on the *Double-Doctrine*, it will be hard to say what it drives at.—*Quæ sunt tandem ista mysteria? Aut cur celatis quasi turpe aliquid, vestram sententiam.* These *Mysteries* could be nothing but the *Scepticism* of the *Academy*; of which, I think, *Lucullus* truly says, *confundit vera cum falsis, spoliat nos judicio, privat approbatione.*

From all this I would draw these two Inferences. That the Genius of this Philosophy makes it very difficult to discover the real Opinions of its Professors; and consequently that Dr. *Bentley* was mistaken in supposing this to be the Key to come at *Tully's*. The other is, that *Tully* was not so great a Sceptic as his Sect might be supposed to make him; which I infer, as well from the Manner in which the *Romans* professed the *Greek* Philosophy, as from some express Declarations in his Writings. If I had thought him so, it would be absurd to pretend, as I have done, to find his real Sentiments; yet I think, the Principles of that Sect sufficiently influenced him to justify my first Inference.

4. When I urged *Cicero's* Inconsistencies and Contradictions, as an Orator, a Statesman, and a Teacher of the *Greek* Philosophy, it was not to shew that he acted either a weak or an unfair Part; (from which you have very well defended him) but that his Employment and Course of Life habituated him to dissemble his Opinions. From which it might be fairly collected, that his real Sentiments were not to be discovered in these Parts of his

his Writings; and consequently, that whatever he there says in Favour of a *future State* was not to be objected to my Conclusion. This I took to be to the Purpose, as I could then urge the Passages in the Epistles with their due Force.

To my Quotation from *Tully, Ac. Qu. l. 4. c. 20. Jurarem, &c.* you say,—as far as I can understand the Passage without the Context to assist me, he does not swear, as you render it, that he always speaks what he thinks; but only that he thinks what he is there speaking. To determine this Point, it is, as you hint, necessary to have Recourse to the Context. *Lucullus* had been declaiming very tragically against the Academy: Part of his Accusation is given above. When *Tully* enters on its Defence, he thinks it necessary to premise something concerning himself. *Aggrediar igitur*, says he, *si pauca ante, quasi de FAMA MEA dixero*. He then declares, that had he embraced the Academy out of Vanity, or Love of Contradiction, it had not only reflected on his Sense, but on his Honour. *Itaque nisi ineptum putarem in tali disputatione id facere, quod cum de republica disceptatur fieri interdum solet: Jurarem per Jovem Deosque Penates, me & ardere studio veri reperiendi, & ea sentire quæ dicerem*. From hence I gather, that tho' the Question here be of the *Academic Philosophy*, and of *Cicero*, as an *Academic*, yet as he tells us he is now to vindicate himself in a Point in which his Honour was concerned, the Protestation is general, and concerns his constant turn of Mind, which always inclined him, he says, to speak his Sentiments.

Another Observation I would make, is, that *Tully* here seems to be sensible that *Lucullus* had but too much reason for his Charge against the *Academics*. Why else does he dis-join his Case from

theirs, and take a way to secure himself, whatever became of his Sect?

You conclude this Point thus.—*And if so, it confirms what I have been saying of the Academy; and of its being the true Key of his Sentiments.* When I observed that the Academy was *not* the true Key of Tully's Sentiments, it was not because my Conclusion, concerning his Opinion of a future State, was at all influenced by the Truth or Falshood of that Remark; but only because I thought it true. For it is certain, that in all his Writings, he has never once affirmed, *in the Person of an Academic*, that the Doctrine of a future State was most *probable*.

To my Observation, That Tully, in all the Writings which he designed for the Public, affected an *Obscurity*, you reply,—*this is the first Time that I have ever seen the Character of obscure applied to Tully's Writings: Sure no Man's Stile was ever further removed from it, or more remarkably shining and perspicuous than his.* By this it would seem as if you understood me to mean, “ That Tully expressed the Sentiments he delivered, *obscurely*.” So far from that, I think with you, that his Stile is clear and shining in a supreme Degree. I meant (and the Subject I was upon confined me to that Meaning, if I would not talk impertinently) he affected to obscure his real Sentiments. This, I thought, I was warranted to say, not only from his *Obscurity* on the Point in Question, but from the Complaint of his Contemporaries; who, we find, *Nat. Deor. l. 1. c. 5.* were at a loss to know his real Sentiments. Now this *Obscurity* is very consistent with the utmost Clearness and Perspicuity of Stile; as appears from his own Reply to this Complaint. For if the Reader's Ignorance of his real Sentiments, in any Degree hindered them from understanding his Works, as it must have done had it arose from a cloudy and

embarrassed Expression, he never could have condemned (as he does) their Curiosity as idle and impertinent.—*qui autem requirunt, quid quaque de re ipsi sentiamus, curiosius id faciunt, quam necesse est.*

You justly call the principal Point in question the Consideration of his Letters. Here I shall be very short. I apprehend, this Sort of Language, which he so often uses in them,—“*mortem quam etiam beati contemnere debeamus, propterea quod nullum sensum esset habitura.*—*Nec enim dum ero angar ulla re, cum omni vacem culpa: Etsi non ero sensu omnino carebo*—*præsertim cum omnium rerum mors sit extremum.*”—I say, I apprehend this to be the very Language of the Epicureans; and is best interpreted by his favourite Poet, *Lucretius*, who likewise uses it as an Antidote against the Fear of Death.—

“*Scilicet haud nobis quicquam, qui NON ERIMUS*
tum,

“*Accidere omnino poterit SENSUMQUE movere.*

You think that *Tully* did believe a future State, and that the whole Turn of his Writings shews it. But you say,—*In a melancholy Hour when the Spirits are low, and the Mind under a Dejection, an Argument appears in a very different Light; Objections acquire Strength; and what humours the present Chagrine, finds the readiest Admission. These Passages were evidently of this Kind, written in his desponding Moments, and as you say, when he himself most wanted Consolation.*

To this give me Leave to reply, It is allowed that a desponding Temper, like that of *Cicero's*, would in a melancholy Hour be always inclined to suspect the worst. But to what is its Suspicion confined? Without doubt to the Issue of that very

Affair which occasioned the Distress. A melancholy Hour would have just the contrary Influence on his other Cogitations. And this is the wise Disposition of Nature ; that the less Support the Mind has persuaded itself, it shall find, in one Quarter, the more it endeavours to make it up, in an Abundance of Hope from another. So that, unless *Cicero* was made differently from all other Men, one may venture to say, his Hopes of *future Good* (had *Philosophy* permitted him to entertain any Hopes at all) would have risen in Proportion to his Fears of the *present*.

I come to your *P. S.* in which I find myself obliged to you for your kind Enquiries into the Progress of my Work. I have nothing to apprehend in Discredit to the Method of it, but the Application of that Method to Cases which will not bear it. The Instance you give me of the Tract on the *Sabbatic-Year* is one of these Cases. I suppose an internal Proof can never be drawn from thence of the Divinity of the *Mosaic Mission* ; though for Reasons different from yours : For I reckon, that this particular Institution might be well accounted for, even on the Supposition of mere human Legislation. For all agree, that *MOSES's* main End was the Abolition of *Idolatry*, and Preservation of the *Unity*. The Institution of the *Sabbath* is shewn by *Spencer* and others to be, of all the Ceremonial, the very Rite most conducive to this End. So that it seemed to be fit, nay necessary, that the principal Rite, conducive to the principal End, should be very well secured. Hence the *Sabbath* was supported by a *Sabbatic-Year* ; and further strengthened by a Year of *Jubilee*. As to the civil Consequences of a *Sabbatic-Year* ; a Relaxation from Culture, in the Proportion it required, must be extremely useful to such a Soil as *Judea*, which to preserve its Fertility, required

required a Remission of at least one Year in seven. A *partial Rest*, of the several Parts, in Rotation, had, indeed, been the eligible Way, had nothing else been to be considered. But, on *this*, no Sabbatic Rite could have been founded. So that a total and periodic Cessation from Culture was necessary. But then, by a wise Provision in other Parts of the Institution, *Moses* obviated the Inconveniencies that sometimes arise from a *total Rest*. To speak only of that which forbade Commerce with Strangers (and, for the same End, *viz.* to prevent Idolatry) from whence would follow their having greater Stores of Corn than could be consumed. And the Sabbatic-Year being fixed, and the Event of it foreseen, they had Warning and Ability to lay in Supplies for that Defect. To this, if we add, that, though, in the *Sabbatic-Year*, they did not enjoy the Fruits of Culture, yet, what came without, they were at Liberty to use, we must I think conclude, that a wise Legislator, who found Use in a *Sabbatic-Year*, for the Advancement of his Ends, would venture to institute it, though he had no Expectation of a miraculous Supply; as the natural Consequences were so little to be dreaded.

There is but one solid Objection, humanly speaking, to this Institution, that I know of; which is this, that, when the *Jews* fell under a foreign Dominion, their Masters made them pay Tribute on the *Sabbatic-Year*. And this indeed was a heavy Oppression. But it reflects not at all on the Wisdom of the Lawgiver. For if *Moses* had, as he pretended, a divine Character, foreign Dominion was a Punishment for Idolatry; and these Circumstances made that Dominion a Punishment in the Degree it was intended. But if *Moses* was a mere human Lawgiver, it had been impertinent to have provided for this Case; because, from his
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Knowledge of the World, he would have concluded, that such foreign Dominion must have been the Dissolution of his Republic, and, consequently, attended with a speedy Obliteration of its Rites.

Having cleared up this Matter, and disengaged it from all Relation to mine, I proceed to consider what it is that sticks with you in my Case, and hinders you from giving me that full Assent to my Opinions, which I should be always ambitious of gaining.

You think, *some may be apt to say that in this Matter of a future State, Moses had overlooked what could not be omitted without Ruin to Religion; for the Consequence of his Omission was this, the People were perpetually apostatizing, either to the Superstitions of Egypt, or the Idolatries of Canaan: And tired with the Load of their Ceremonies, wholly drop'd them at last; and sunk into all Kinds of Vice and Profaneness. Till the Prophets, in order to revive and preserve a Sense of Religion amongst them, began to preach up the rational Duties of Morality, and insinuate the Doctrine of a future State.*

You think, *it may be said, Moses had overlooked what could not be omitted without Ruin of Religion.* But, whatever other Conclusion may be drawn from your Premises, I think I have obviated and excluded *this*, by shewing that my Adversaries the Deists have, with full Consent, allowed, that *Moses was a consummate Lawgiver.* And, but upon that Principle, indeed, they could never, with any Plausibility, deny *Moses* a foreign, that is, a *divine* Assistance. Now the chief Part of Legislation is perfectly to understand the various Effects Religion has on Mankind, But as the Concession of our Adversaries is a very slippery Security; and, at best, the resting on it is often only arguing *ad hominem*, by which nothing can be shewn but the Inconsistency of

of those with whom we have to deal, I have secured their Concession by the Inforcement of many Instances, which shew *Moses's* great Skill in Legislation; and make it very improbable that so great a Master in his Art should blunder so strangely in the very first Principle of it; a Principle that chiefly distinguished the School He came from.

But you say, *The People were perpetually apostatizing either to the Superstitions of Egypt, or the Idolatries of Canaan.* It is certain they were. But this makes nothing for your Inference, unless it could be shewn, that they sought a *future State* in those Superstitions, as a Support for Religion. But this was by no Means the Case. You yourself give another, and indeed the true Reason, *they were tired with the Load of their Ceremonies.* And no Wonder, for they were chaste and severe, and in *that*, rather than in their *Number*, different from the Ceremonies of their Neighbours, which were performed with all the Jollity, and Lubricity that a profligate People were capable of inventing.

If we suppose the Omission of a future State inclined them to this Defection from the Law of *Moses*, one of these two Effects must have followed, which did not; Were they vicious and debauched, they would have sunk into Irreligion, and rejected the Doctrine of Providence: were they virtuous, they would have borrowed the Doctrine of a future State from their Neighbours, and nothing more than what depended on it. And I say not this at Random. For though, at the Time in question, this was not the Case of the *Jewish* People either to be virtuous, or under the ordinary Dispensation of Providence, yet there was a Time, during the *Jewish* Commonwealth, when these two Circumstances met together; and, at that precise Time, they did what I here
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suppose, in such Circumstances, they must needs do; that is, borrow of their Pagan Neighbours this Doctrine of a *future State*, and no more. I conclude, therefore, that, whatever it was which occasioned their frequent Apostacy, it could not be the Omission of the Doctrine of a future State, because we find no Connexion between the supposed Cause and Effect.

You go on and say, — *And tired with the Load of their Ceremonies, wholly drop'd them at last, and sunk into all Kinds of Vice and Profaneness, till the Prophets, in order to revive and preserve a Sense of Religion amongst them, began to preach up the rational Doctrines of Morality, and insinuate the Doctrine of a future State.*

I presume this cannot be the exact Case, even from your own Representation. For if they *had wholly drop'd the Ceremonies* at the Time of the coming of the Prophets, *These*, who profess the Intent of their Mission to be the Re-establishment of the Law of *Moses*, should have begun their Preaching with the Necessity of observing the Ceremonies: Whereas they did, as you say, and as the Bible assures us, *begin with preaching up the rational Duties of Morality.* This seems to shew, that the *Jews* rather *stuck to their Ceremonies*, to the Violation of the Duties of Morality, than that they had *wholly drop'd them.* And Scripture warrants this Conclusion, *To what Purpose (says God by the Prophet Isaiah) is the Multitude of your Sacrifices? I am full of your Burnt-Offerings, and I delight not in the Blood of Bulls or of Lambs. Bring no more vain Oblations. Incense is an Abomination to me. The new Moons and Sabbaths, the calling of Assemblies I cannot away with. Your new Moons and your appointed Feasts my Soul hateth.* This looks like a very strict Adherence to their Ceremonies. Here we see, the Fasti-

dium, the loathing comes from *God*, and not from the *People*. From whence I would beg Leave to observe, that though we can, from the Circumstances above mentioned, see the Reason why the Prophets should preach up Righteousness, in Preference to Ceremonies, when these had got the upper Hand; yet, without looking further, we can never account for it, why God is brought in, speaking with so much Contempt and Hatred of a Law of his own giving. We cannot, I say, account for this, without admitting the *common Notions of Theology*, which teach that it was to prepare the People for a *new Dispensation*. And if we consider how much more and more the People grew besotted with their *Ceremonies* even to the coming of Christ, we shall perhaps be induced to think well of this Explanation.

You add, in the last Place, — *And insinuate the Doctrine of a future State*. You must suppose this was done to supply *Moses's* Omission of it, or it makes nothing for your Purpose. But, if this were the Intention, it was very preposterously executed.

1. Because it was, as you yourself confess, *only an Insinuation*. And it was the Practice (and indeed the Necessity of the Thing speaks it) for all Lawgivers, when they employed this Sanction of a future State, to inculcate it, not by *Insinuation*, but in the most open and explicate Manner.

2. Because this *Insinuation* of the Prophets was so extremely obscure, that, when afterwards, the Leaders of the *Jewish* People saw indeed a Necessity of introducing the Doctrine, they found so little in the Prophets to build upon, that they rested the Revelation of it solely on Tradition.

3. But it is still more evident from what follows, that the Doctrine of a future State was not *insinuated*

ted for the End you suppose: There was a Period in the *Jewish* State, as is here hinted at, and will be proved at large in my Book, when the Governors of it found it necessary to supply this Omission. But how did they do it? Not by dark *Insinuations* like their Predecessors, but in the plainest and most express Manner, like the Gentile Lawgivers. And lest it should be thought, that the Supplial of the Omission *now* did in any wise derogate from the Perfection of the *Mosaic* Scheme, I shew, that this was done at that precise Time when God had withdrawn his *extraordinary Providence*. Nor was this Rabbinical Doctrine, of a future State, any Revelation from God, but composed of Parts picked up from amongst their Pagan Neighbours, varnished over indeed with the Authority of those dark prophetic *Insinuations*. Which appears, as from many other Particulars, so especially from this, that it was founded on the Pythagoric Metempsychosis, which at this Time, was the general Mode of the Pagan future State.

On the whole then it appears, that no good Account can be given of the Conduct of the Prophets, in this Matter of *Insinuation*, if their End was what you suppose. But take in the Scheme of a *new Dispensation*, and all becomes clear and full of Wisdom. For a future State, taught by Revelation, is not *immediately* founded on the same Principle, with *that*, taught by natural Religion. The latter stands *immediately* on this Principle, *That God is just, and will give to every one according to his Works*; therefore, if the Distribution of Good and Evil be not made here, it will be hereafter. But the future State of Revelation stands only *mediately* on this, and *immediately* on its being a *Restoration to a lost Inheritance, purchased by a Redeemer*. Now, tho' the other Mode of a future State might be taught clearly

clearly and explicitly at any Time, yet, it is evident, that *this* could not be preached up till the Time of that *Restoration* and *Redemption*. The Redeemer and his Work must be coeval, and go Hand in Hand. Accordingly, we find, that when the Prophets gave *dark Insinuations* of the Redeemer, they gave *dark Insinuations* of *Redemption* at the same Time: But more, they could not do. And this I presume is a reasonable Account of their Conduct in their *insinuating* (as you rightly say they did) *the Doctrine of a future State*.

You have now, Sir, my Thoughts on your Objection, which acute and learned as it is, (and it is so in a high Degree) is yet, by what I can see, founded in that Paralogism of *non causa pro causa*.

To deal ingenuously with you, I think the frequent Relapses of the *Jews* into Idolatry has something, at first View, very shocking on the Revelation-Scheme. But then I think the *Objection* which may be raised, on this Circumstance, holds rather against my Conclusion *directly*, than, as you put it, by the *Medium* of my Premises. As thus,—“ If
 “ the *Jews* were, indeed, under an extraordinary
 “ Providence, how could they possibly relapse so
 “ often into Idolatry? That Relapse implying a
 “ Rejection of the Truth of the Religion delivered
 “ to them by *Moses*.” Now though this has the Appearance of Weight, yet I suspect it receives it all from the Influence which a *Set of mere modern* Ideas has upon us. To *embrace a new Religion*, and to *condemn the old of Falshood*, are Actions so inseparable, and go so constantly together, that the Union seems founded in the Nature of Things. But, in Truth, the Association is accidental and arbitrary; and more than that, unknown to the Antients, as I have hinted at in the third Part of
 my

my Book of *the Alliance*: Now, if this Observation be well founded, it will be no Diminution to its Credit, that it is capable of being applied to the Solution of more Difficulties than one. The antient Pagans, possessed with the Notion of local Deities, to whom the several Parts of the Earth were divided into Shares, readily credited the Truth of one another's Revelations, and as readily, on any finister Accident, went over to one another's Religion. And though the *Jewish* Law obviated and condemned this Principle of *Inter-community*, it was no Wonder that a People bred up under that universal Prejudice, and who had several Institutions, which, by prejudiced Minds, might be thought to look that way, should be apt to go into such Visions. That they did, I will venture to say their whole History shews; as in many other Particulars, so in this, that in their frequent Defections they did not lay aside the *Mosaic* Worship, but only polluted and corrupted it with a large Mixture of Pagan Rites.

If then it be allowed, that the *Jews*, when they fell into Idolatry, did not reject the *Jewish* Religion as a false Pretence to Revelation, all the Force of the Objection vanishes. And I have observed above what strong Temptations a vicious People had to neglect such a Religion as that of *Moses*, for such a one as that of *Canaan*.

Newark, Sept. 20,
1736.

I am, &c.

W. WARBURTON.



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